

THE ARMIES VINDICATION,

Wherein these five things are proved :

First , That there is a Supream and Sovereign power alwayes residing in the People, over and above Kings.

Secondly , That all Kings have been , and still are, subject to, and under Law.

Thirdly, That the People have power, not only to convent, but to censure, depose and punish their Kings for their Tyranny and misgovernment.

Fourthly, That no Nation is so strictly tied to any one form of civill Government or Law, but it is lawfull for the People to alter the same to another form or kind upon occasion.

Fifthly, Amongst all formes of Civill Government , Aristocratical or Popular is best and safest for the People.

Besides , Here is shewed, that to claim any Crown by an hereditary or successive title, is upon a false and unjust ground.

*None of all this is proved, but abominable treason is committed by y^e en-
deavouring to prove
such villanous falsehoods
for y^e author
of this booke
deserves all man-
ner of y^e most
severe punish-
ment*

In reply to Mr. William Sedgwick.

Published for the Kingdomes satisfaction

By

ELEVETHERIVS PHILODEMIVS.

1 Cor. 7.21.

But if thou mayest be made free, use it rather.

Printed for Peter Cole, at the signe of the printing
presse, in Cornhill, neer the Royal Exchange.

Anno 1649.

~~scribble~~

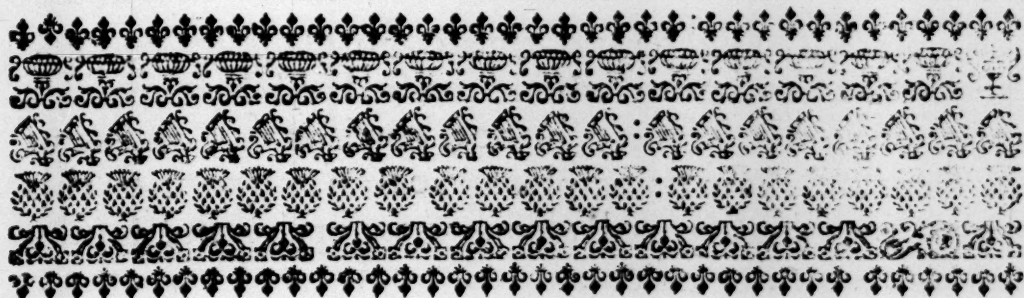
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To his Excellency, *Thomas* Lord *Fairfax*, Lord
General of the Parliaments forces, and the
General Councel of War.

My Lord and Gentlemen,

HAVING spent some time in looking over the histories of Nations, our own Records, and Statutes, with severall other works of Statists, Politicians Lawyers, I found that saying truly verified of *Solomon*, *In much wisdom is much grief, and he that increaseth knowledge increaseth sorrow*; and what he afterward concludes of all his own works and labour, I observed to be most true in them, touching Politie and civil government, *Behold all was vanity and vexation of spirit, and there was no profit under the sun*. For indeed men have acted and written either in reference to Princes, to humor and please their lusts and will, or like the unwise builder (the blind leading the blind) have built upon the sand, upon unsound bottomes and false principles. And therefore as Christ in the controversie betweene him and the *Pharisees* touching divorce, sends them back to the originall and first institution of marriage, and to the Fathers of the first age of the world, as being the first and best pattern; and *Paul* to reform the abuses in the Lords Supper, calls them *Corinthians* to the first institution. So there is no better way to have a Common-

The Epistle Dedicatory.

wealth settled in peace and righteousness, then to look back at the beginning, when men walked by the exact and even rules of equity, justice, conscience, and kept the clear and plain principles of reason and nature: this is the *Land-measure* and *Standard* whereby the faulty measures coming after are to be corrected and amended.

How this light first came to be lessened, and then by degrees afterwards upon the matter quite extinguished in some Kingdomes, and darknesse to break in, as Sovereignities, Monarchies, Kings prerogatives, arbitrary power, regal immunities, Crownes hereditary and successive, &c. (all bloody and black Characters of Tyrants and conquest) it is easie to be seen, and I shall shortly (by the good hand of God assisting me) give you and the whole Nation good satisfaction.

In the mean time I have thought good to publish this small *Treatise*, and howsoever I question not, but your present work and way is clear to you, yet to the nation generally it may serve in some good stead, as to satisfy the weaker, confirm the stronger, inform the ignorant, and leave the wilfull and obstinate without excuse.

For the man with whom I deal, I have nothing here to say, neither indeed would I have sayd any thing to his work, considering what for a man he is, but that I perceived it was in the mouth of some, much cried up, people it seemes, that are not able to put a distinction between wind and words, nor know any difference between rayling and reason.

And now my *Lord* and *Gentlemen*, upon you at the present is the eye of the nation: you are as a city set upon a hill, all Kingdoms about us, are looking on you, and
great

The Epistle Dedicatory.

great things are hoped for, and expected from you, and this I must needs tell you, the cause of Christ lies much now upon your actings, if you doe the worke of the Lord negligently, unfaithfully, fearfully, oh my bowels doe yearn, and I tremble to think what dishonor will come to Gods great name, what scandal and proach to the glorious Gospel, what sadnes and sorrow too the soules of the righteous, and what triumph and joy there will be in the tents of wicked men. But I hope better things of you, though I thus speak, I need not tell you how much you have seen of God, and how his powerfull presence hath gone all along with you to this present time, neither need I tell you by what a strong arm and a strange providence you have beene brought up to this work. But if you should now ask of me (as the young man did of Christ) what lack we yet? I would say, constancy and faithfulness to the end will crown, not only this, but all your former actions.

Methinks I could say more to you, then *Mordecai* did to *Hester*, *Who knowes whether thou art come to the Kingdom for such a time as this?* We know, (and blessed be God for it) the Lord hath made you his *Israels* Saviours, and by you hath wrought deliverance for his people, he hath put much glory already upon you, now therefore stand fast, quit your selves like men, you have the prayers of the Saints with you and for you; and for the enemies their defence is departed from them; and the Lord is with you, fear them not.

But seeing the *Treatise* is short, I shall not make too large a forespeech: I well remember your expression in the *Remonstrance*, calling upon every man to contribute what help he can; and truly there is all the reason in the world for it, that every one now should lay himself out to
further

The Epistle Dedicatory.

further so honorable and good a work. And for my part according to the small portion I have received I shall not be wanting in your vindication, but for the things by you proposed, and your prosecuting of them; to wit, that the King may be brought to his tryal, the enemies of our peace punished, hurtfull Laws nullified the peoples grievances and oppressions removed, freedom and liberty of conscience (without danger to the State) granted, & a better form of Government settled, as I shall undertake the just defence thereof, so I shall shortly make it more manifest to the whole nation, that there is nothing in all things desired of you, nor prosecuted by you, but what is according to justice, reason, nature conscience, and what the Lord himself doth allow and call for: In the meantime my prayer shall be for the blessing of God to be upon your labor, and his powerfull protection over your Persons: Sirs I am

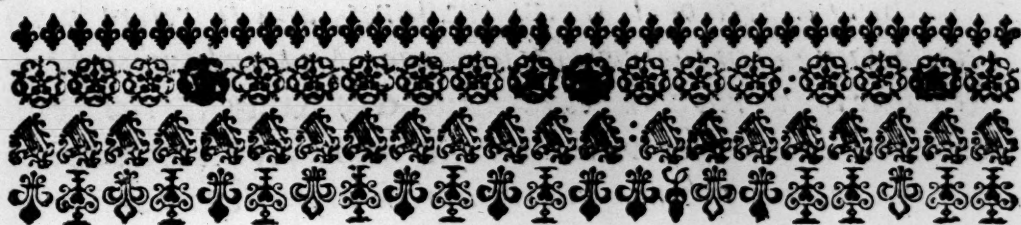
Your Honors devoted servant,

E. P.



To





To the Reader.

Friendly Reader,

Howsoever the Proverb be true, he shall finde worke enough, that hath to do with the multitude, and tis a hard thing to please all; neverthelesse I have undertaken this worke, in hope to satisfie all such, who are not ἄτοποι πονηροί absurd and unreasonable, but knowing men, moderate and impartiall. And confident I am, didst thou know how free I am, and disingaged in respect of any private interest, thou wouldst consider the more seriously what is here written, and reap the more profit by it. For my name, had I intended to have made it known, I could have set it down, and so have told it thee my self, but thou mayest perceive my meaning is to conceale it, and therefore thou needst not to enquire further, onely thus much for thy satisfaction, I have purposely forborn it, that in reading thou mayest not have thy mind taken up with any thing but about the matter.

I make account I shall save Mr. Sedgwick the labour, and all other Royallists of replying, because I have in part don that my self namely collected all such Objections as I conceive carry any shew of contradiction to the particulars here asserted, and shall very shortly set them forth with a full refutation. Reader, the main businesse is Liberty.

Liber captivus avi fere similis est,
Semel fugiendi si data est occasio,
Satis est: nunquam post illum possis prendere
A thing;

To the Reader.

A thing desired of all living creatures, and therefore much unbecoming man to strive for bondage. Me thinks when I consider how the world hath been befooled by Kings, I could even weep and laugh, to see what time asses men have been, to be ridden and beaten by them. But the Lord is now risen up and doing his great work, throwing down and breaking to pieces the proud powers of the earth both civil and ecclesiastical. It is good therefore thou consider where thou art, and what the place of thy standing is, he that hides himself under straw or chaffe will have small relief thereby when fire shall be put thereto and consume it. All powers and places in opposition to Christ are but as dry stubble, which the Lord is now about to destroy with the brightness of his coming.

But I shall not hold thee up with any longer discourse, onely one thing I shall acquaint thee with, there are some faults escaped which I have observed since it was printed, and in some places greater then I wish they were, the which I could not help beeing out of town when it was done, and the badnesse of my hand may in part excuse the printer. And so I bid far well till thou doe hear again from me.



THE





The Armies vindication, in answer to Mr. Sedgwicks calumniation.



H A T moves Mr. Sedgwick to shew himself such a bitter and cruell enemy to the Army, and at this time to heat the furnace of his tongue seven times more then it was wont to be heat, may in part be gathered from the Scripture set down in the Title page: 2 Timor. 3 9. *But they shall proceed no further, &c.* but more clearly a little after, where he speaks of his sermon at Windsor, *Overturn, overturn, overturn:* mentioning with all Mr. Saltmarsh his message, *depart from the tents of these unrighteous men:* and Mr Pinnels admonition. The thing is thus, he hath deeply engaged himself concerning the Armies ruin, and

the safe return of the King and his Posterity to their glory and greatnesse: and having with much confidence and boldnesse a long time thus affirmed, he begins now to fear, lest this should be added to his *doomsday-prophecie*, and so whilst he is lifting up himself, and intruding into those things which he hath not seen, his folly be made manifest to all men: to use his own words. Hence he growes angry, and flies in the face of the Army, calls them *dogs and devils*, that *their wayes are beastly, cruell, absurd, monstrous: men led by a dark and foule Spirit, enemies to the spirit and to the crosse of Christ*, and much more to this purpose; as if they would at his calumniation and slanders fall down before him, and give all up to him; that so it might not come to passe, which he foresees already is at the door, and shortly will be in all mens mouths, *Sedgwick, the false prophet: God hath not spoken to him in these things, but he hath prophesied a lie in his Name.*

Oh that Mr. Sedgwick could take notice of the visible and senceable reproof of God upon him, that *blindnesse hath happened to him in part*, and professing himself to be wise becomes a fool, if the thoughts of the snare which he is fallen into, lay upon his heart, he would give glory to God, and with Iob humbly say, *behold*

I am silent, who shall answer thee? I will lay my hand upon my mouth. Once have I spoken, but I will not answer; yet, twice, but I will speak no further. Job. 40. 4, 5.

The Epistle Dedicatory is as the rest of the Pamphlet, invective and slanderous: Thus he begins, *You drive furiousl^y over the necks of KING and Parliament, Laws covenants, Loyalty, Priviledges, and no humane thing can stand before you.* Here Solomons words are verified, Eccles. 10. 13. *The beginning of the words of his mouth is foolishnesse, and the end of his talke is mischievous madnesse.* You found not any thing in the Remonstrance looking this way, but expressions often to the contrary, and were you as charitably minded towards His EXCELLENCY, and the Generall COUNCEL of WAR, as you are to the Malignant Party, you had ground sufficient to judge otherwise: But howsoever God will ere long clear their innocency, and bring forth their righteousness as the light, and their judgement as the noon day, when by his gracious hand assisting them, our Lawes, Liberties, and Priviledges shall be recovered, the which by KING and PARLIAMENT have been trodden under foot.

But he tels them, *The Lord is here upbraiding your unbelief:* and after pag. 13. *The Holy GOD will no longer suffer you to wear the name of Saint and godly, but will discover you to be whitesepulchres, and cause your rottenesse to come forth.* But how may we know that the Lord hath called Mr. *will Sedgwick* to this work, and that it is the spirit of Christ speaking in him, and he the man appointed to pour contempt upon the Army, and to trample upon them as mortar: Must we take it as granted, because he sayes it: What if the Army should say in the words of Nebemiah, *And I perceived that God had not sent him, but that he pronounced this Prophecie against me, for Tobiah and Sanballat had hired him.* Therefore was he hired that I should be afraid, and doe so, and sin, and that they might have matter for an evil report, that they might reproach me. My God think thou upon Tobiah and Sanballat according to these their works, and as the Prophesse Noadiah and the rest of the Prophets that would have put me in fear. Neh 6. 12, 13, 14.

Is there no ground for them to think, that the Malignant spirit drives on his old designe here in Mr. Sedgwick, namely, to have the Army disbanded: this hath been a long time sought after, and severall wayes attempted to effect it: But it seemes seeing all other meanes failes him, he now studies to make the Army flye by a false prophesse, as if our worthy Nebemiah and the rest, would give over the building through a needlesse and foolish fear.

And indeed they have all the reason in the world to think that God hath not sent him: for the statutes of the Lord are perfect, right, pure, clean, true, and righteous altogether: *Out of the mouth of the most high proceedeth not evil and good.* Where we find (as in his writing is abundance) contradiction, falshood, flattery, the wicked justified, the righteous condemned, evill called good, and good evil, darknesse put for light, and light for darknesse, bitter for sweet, and sweet for bitter, Gospell Truths and Ordinances are scorned and derided, &c. there we may groundedly conclude, that such a one was never thereto called of God.

But it seemes here to be Mr. Sedgwick's case, as it once happined to Ananias, when he angled some dived under water, & put fish upon his hook, which he cast up and thought he had taken them. If I should lay his fish together in a heap, a man would soon perceive by the kind who put them upon the hook. For instance, look
here

here good Reader, out of what water is this fish taken, and what fish is it? Speaking to His EXCELLENCY and the General COUNCEL of WAR, he tells them, *It pleases me to pour contempt upon you, to be shod with scorn and indignation, and so trample upon Princes as mortar*: If this be not the spirit of Antichrist, then was it never in any man. But let us see how Pope-like he sets his foot upon the neck of Princes: *Destitute is your practice, tis your work, tis your end, you cannot see beyond it, your faith understanding, God (may I use your own words pag. 22. you lie grossly) is sunk into your bellies, and your rule your strength, your confidence is only in sensuall and brutish things, you act against God, and God against you, your soules loath him, and his soul loaths you.*

And of the whole Army he saith, "Never were men caught in such a snare of the devil as you are: you are true to nothing, neither God nor man: your wayes are beastly, cruel, absurd, monstrous: you continue in armes against command of God and men, you are a company of deceivers and mountebancks, that talke of curing, saving, delivering, but all wast, spoyl and destroy the people. You are gone from all principles of goodnesse, from the Lord to the world: you are become through blindness and ignorance enemies to the spirit, you love not the life of Christ, you know not the mind of God, neither have any communion with God: Amongst you is the greatest enmity and malignity to the spirit of God, and the greatest pride, hypocrisie, self confidence, and spirituall wickednesse: you are manifestly guilty of the present oppression upon the poor people, and the intollerable burden of Free-quarter, and unreasonable taxes, you expect the King should turn, not to God, but to your form of Religion and Government, and cannot count any thing a change, but yeelding to your way, which if he should, he should be seven times more the childe of the devil. You are tugging and pulling down the Kingdom in pieces to satisfie your self with dominion: you hope for nothing, but for deceit, falshood and treacherie: you speak evill, but cannot speak good: you never spake any good of the King or any other but in scorn."

Here is some of the fish which Mr. Sedgwick hath cast up: we need not to describe them, they shew themselves what they are, and the black lake out which they are taken. But is this Mr. Sedgwick's voice, oh poor man, truly I pittie thee; and howsoever no *Rabshakeh*, *Ishmaelite*, or *Shimei*, could hardly have uttered greater slander and more falshood, yet considering the temptation thou liest under, and what a depth of delusion God hath suffered thee to fall into, thou art rather to be pittied then punished. *Michael* the Archangel durst not bring against the devil a rayling accusation; but you durst raile at the people of God, and charge them with notorious untruths, but take heed, lest the strength of that prayer reach you. "Let the lying lips be put to silence which speaks grievous things: proudly and contemptuously against the righteous. *Psal. 31. 18.* Because I am willing that the Army should take notice what Mr. Sedgwick writes, as well for them, as against them: Thus he charitably expresseth himself at first: *Your eternall state is sure, tis your present wandrings that are here condemned.* Here is some comfort for you souldiers: but will he stand to this? not at all, for presently with the same mouth (not minding what he had said) he puts them all out of Heaven, and out of all hope of salvation, and shuts them up in the bottomlesse pit; and this with as much

confidence and certainty, as if God had revealed to him what their future state should be: let's hear the sentence against the Army. *The Lord* (saith he) *appoints you a portion with hypocrites and unbelievers, where shall be weeping & gnashing of teeth.* Again, pag. 11. *If you adhere to that you have proposed, you forsake your own interest, and espouse the devil, the God of this world, the destroyer, and will perish with him.* What their eternall salvation sure, and yet may perish with the devil? this is no true light, the Spirit of God witnesseth otherwise. But again, pag. 18. *You are cursing, dividing, and so are in the kingdom of darknesse, and of the devil:* and often, *You are no Saints.* pag. 23. 24. And in pag. 35. he passeth a small doom, where he saith; "You are reserved to be punished from the presence of the Lord, this is your second death. As this vain and rash judging of his, shewes by what spirit he is led, so it is not worth the answering; only it bewrayes great weaknesse and darknesse in him, and that he is not himself: For who but Mr. Sedgwick, or a man under such distempers, would write so vehemently as he hath done, against the Army (of which more in its place) for rash judging of others, whereas I dare clearly affirm, there is hardly a precedent of any one man that fell so foully and grossly in this very thing as he himself hath done.

Turpe est doctore cum culpa redarguat ipsi.

For his perverting of the Scripture *Phil. 3. 18. 19.* scandalously applying it to the Army, I mind it a thing in him neither new nor strange: for the rest of his works shew what a proper gift he hath to wrest and abuse the sacred word of God. Yet not to passe over the place altogether silent, there seemes to be something here which is close and hid: wherefore is *Phil. 3. 18. 19.* quoted, and commented upon? it is to make the Army contemptible and odious: *Paul saith many are enemies to the crosse of Christ, &c.* ergo, the Army. It was a cunning devise of Nero when he hurled the Christians to dogs, seeing the mastives would not touch them, to clad them in beares skin, to kindle the fury of the dogs that they might take them to be beasts and not men. I will not say it is a studied plot of Mr. Sedgwick, but outwardly he doth *Nero like*: he sees there are no swords drawn against the Army, Gods former power and presence with them (howsoever he often jeeres at it) hath by this time convinced the enemy, so that he hath no minde unto any new engagement: But what doth he now? seeing the mastives will not touch them, he will clad them in beares skins, make them vile and odious, say, they are rebels, traitors, thieves, murderers, even the vilest and worst of men; and thus he will kindle the fury of the dogs, that is, have the Army to be taken not for men, but beasts, and so they shall doe God good service, whosoever destroyes them. But this will not do it, nor help to bring about your prophetic. "Thou shalt hide them in the secret of thy presence, from the pride of man, thou shalt keep them secretly in a pavilion from the strife of tongues. *Psa. 31. 20.*

Let us hear what followes. *Tis not only men that suffer from your violence, but the Lord: You are gone so far in dissolving the foundations of government that you reach to the Lord. These miserable broken powers are now the Lord: A man that wants distinction, thrusts all things confusedly together.*

But to answer, First, Is the punishing of bad Governours a dissolving the foundations of Government? doth a Physician destroy the body by removing of corrupt and filthy humors from it?

Secondly

Secondly, Howsoever there is no power but of God, yet may people change the kind of powers, nullifie some Lawes and Ordinances, and take others up; and not come neer the bowels of the Lord, neither act any thing that is unlawfull. It is an unquestionable truth, that *Monarchy, Democratic, and Aristocratie*, are the powers of God, each in is self a lawfull form of Government: and it is as unquestionable, that so the case may be, as the use of one may be laid aside, and another set up, and God much seen and honoured in the change. In saying, these broken powers are now the *Lord*: not the Lords power: we understand your phrase, and your godding of all things, but it is a matter out of our way, and therefore I will not turn to it.

Howsoever Mr. *Sedgwick* in speaking against the Army, his teeth are speares, and arrowes, and his tongue a sharp sword, yet for the King and his party, the words of his mouth are smoother then butter, and softer then oyle: oh, he is careful to deal gently with the young man, and no marvail, he sees much beauty in *Abolom*.

The King and Parliament (saith he) cry unto God in their distress: and quotes *Isa. 63. 16.* to be the words of their prayer, and presuming that he knowes the mind of God, peremptory concludes, that *The Lord owne them*, and will hear "their cry and deliver them.

Here Reader thou art given to understand, that by the Parliament he meanes such Members as are now in the hand of lustice for rayning a new war, and other treacherous plots tending to the ruin of the whole Kingdome: the owning of the King and them, is as much to say, that God will countenance and justify all their falshood, unfaithfulnesse, murders, or what else it be that the Army hath to object and prove against them. But Mr. *Sedgwicks prophecies* are not yet received amongst us above Scripture. We beleeve in our hearts, and confesse with our mouths, "Thou art of purer eyes then to behold evil, and canst not look on iniquity. "Thou art not a God that hath pleasure in wickednesse, neither shall evil dwell with thee. Vain glorious fooles shall not stand in thy sight, thou hatest all workers of iniquity: Thou wilt bring to perdition them that speak a lye: The man of bloods and of deceits Iehovah doth abhor. What you lay to the *Armies charge* pag. 1. I know no man to whome the words more truly may be applyed then to your self. "In this work you manifestly shew, that you have deeply revolted, and that after you had escaped the pollutions of the world, you are again entangled therein and overcome: and with the dog returned to your own vomit: you have been exalted to heaven, and are brought down to hel. Doth it not bewray a man greatly fallen from God, and what he had is taken from him, even his wisdom, largenesse, goodnesse: having been formerly zealously earnest against sin, and a professed enemy to all unrighteousnesse of men, should afterward undertake to defend the grossest and vilest wickednesse, plead for it, yea, rail at such, and reproach them as do appear against the same, that it may have a just and condign punishment. I hope the Lord by this meanes will open their eyes, whom you have bewitched, giving out that your self is some great one, *The great power of God*. Truly unlesse there be a strong delusion *εὐρεῖται μάδυνς the strength of delusion*, or *strongest impressions of error* fastened upon their mindes: if there be not (I say) an insaturation and besottednesse upon them, joyued with such a pertinacy

unity and difference, that howsoever Mr. *Sedgwick's* doctrines are palpable errors, and such as may be felt, yet they will adhere to him, there is enough in this (we will not mention his other good works) to let them see, what he calls light, is darkness itself, and speaks against the mind of God, as clear as the sunne that shines at noon day: for that bold assertion *God will deliver them*, the time shortly will shew it, but howsoever for you to be found an untrue speaker, it is a thing now so common and usuall with you, as it is not admired of, such is the hand of God now against you.

Having ended with this *Epistle Dedicatory*, we come now to the book, which hardly admits of any division, or laying out into parts, because the whole contains little else but bitter invectives and grievous accusations against the *Army*; and howsoever there is scarce a leaf but some charges or other against the *Army* are in it, yet all is one thing often repeated.

The matter of charge in one word is *apostacy*, that His EXCELLENCY and the *General Council of War* in their present acting are deeply revolted, with this he begins pag. 1. But let us see the ground work upon which he builds, the reason wherefore he chargeth them with backsliding, it is because the *Army Remonstrance* calls for justice and judgment, to have the land purged of innocent blood, and that there may be such a peace settled on earth amongst men, as may be to the glory of God on high: at these propofals he takes exception, blots much paper with foule aspersions against the *Army* for framing them, seeks with great swelling words to affright them, and to hinder them from prosecuting so just and necessary a work. I confesse if the *Army* were turned *Royalists*, so basely revolted as he acknowledgeth himself to be pag. 31. and were cast back into such blindness, as to make "the King glad with their wickedness, and the Princes with their lies, as he doth, (to his shame be it spoken) they had no need (following such a cursed principle) to carry forth the worke of the Lord any farther: but they dare not shew themselves such broken reedes, *wandering stars*, light and unconstant, neither frame their tongues to such flattery, might they gain the whole world. Besides it appears by his writing, that outwardly he can be any thing, and every thing, apply himself every way, and so cares not what oppressions be laid upon mens persons, state, consciences, nothing can reach him: But others truly fearing God, abhor such crooked wayes, and know that by the Law of God, nature, and nations, they are bound to seek freedom in a just and fair way for their bodies and souls: and therefore the *apostacy* falls on himself, and he is become like one of the foxes in the Prophet, who "hath seen a vain vision, a lying divination, saying, the Lord saith, albeit he hath "not spoken: with lies making sad the hearts of the righteous, whom the Lord hath "not made sad; and strengthened the hands of the wicked, that he should not return "from his wicked way, promising him life. But mark, Mr. *Sedgwick*, what the Lord speaketh concerning such Prophets. "My hand shall be upon the Prophets that see "vanity & divine lies, they shall not be in the assembly of my people, neither shall "they be written in the writing of the house of Israel, neither shall they enter into "the land of Israel.

In pag. 2. having laid some disgrace upon the *Remonstrance*, he proceedeth to shew them the evil, and folly of their principles, and with such plainnesse as the wise and sober sort of them shall be convinced, the rest condemned in themselves; and to

satisfie

Justifie the Readers expectation, he takes in hand, the first part of their preamble (as he calls it) which is the *Armes tender regard to the freedom and liberty of Parliament*: his answer to it is this, *that they deal deceitfully with the world, conceale their own principle, which is, that the powers of the world are to be broken, the Parliament is one of the powers of the world, and that they are called to break it in pieces, and upon this ground they know they act.*

Cocks feeding on garlick overcome others, but how? with ranknesse of breath not strength, If a man should here fly, it must be for the smell, not the matter:

For First, It is untrue that they hold such a Principle, neither do they act upon, the ground he mentioneth.

Secondly, Their former practise is a cleer proof to justify what they say, for had they not been tender this way, they might have prevented a great deal of their own sufferings, and not been so long under severall grievances.

Thirdly, At this time there lay a necessity upon them to move, for otherwise they had not been faithfull to God for the power put into their hands, neither had answered the trust of the people, who continually besought them in all parts of the land to prevent their slavery and bondage which was ready to break in, and so all their former expences of blood and goods, vainly spent and wasted.

Fourthly, It is so far from their thoughts to break the power of Parliament, or to think they are called thereto, as their greatest studie and endeavour is, how the Parliaments Power may be best improved for the common good of the people, and every ones interest.

Whereas in the Remonstrance it is declared, that things are brought to the utmost *Crisis* of danger, and also shewed how, and by whom: his answer is, *its true but you make an ill use of it.* For the rest, he tells us his dream of "two in the kingdom, the one our life, and a wicked one, which is wrath. As there is nothing in it, so there needs no answer; onely because I guesse what he would have said, a word thus: The more we depend upon a wise Physician, the more will we observe his directions, and be the carefuller to use what he prescribeth: so every godly man the more his trust and dependance is upon God, the more he will serve Gods providence in the use of meanes, and not only the ordinary, but as the *Remonstrance* well notes it, upon Publike necessity or extremity goe further, yet so; as good cautions be duly observed. This point is excellently set forth in the *Remonstrance*, pag. 4. 5. 6. and Mr. Sedgwick was so wise as seeing the strength thereof, to let it alone.

Next, he chargeth the *Arme*, with *wofull feares*, and why? because they say the *publick affaires* calls upon every man to contribute what help he can. It doth not not alwayes argue fear to call for help in danger, neither is all fear simply unlawfull. But his answer indeed is wofull. "Vain is the help of man: it is to offer help to a wicked world, cease ye foolish men, &c. We have not onely precepts for the lawfulnessse to call for others help, but the Saints in all ages have practised it before us: for howsoever mans help is vain rested in, yet God gives in Power to the creature, whereby succour and deliverance is obtained. Again the worse the world is, the more need there is of help, that enormities and abuses may redressed, and righteousnesse, truth, and peace restored. But Mr. Sedgwick's counsell is if a man see his house a fire, not to move or seek to quench it, but leave it alone till it be

is so burnt down to the ground: because they say in the *Remonstrance*, and seeing no effectuall help from else where to appear, he takes them sharply up, *your curse is not to see when good comes, we see salvation is nigh, God a present help, &c.* and afterward (but somewhat closely) we have the salvation and help told us, what it is, to wit the *Treaty*.

First, That which he calls good we know to be evil: it was as the *forbidden fruit*, pleasant to the eye of some, and a thing to be desired, but death went along with it: for the *Treaty*, we know the bottome of it, and its rise, in what shop it was forged, the dependences upon it, the drift and scope thereof, namely to bring about a malignant plot, to destroy the usefull power of Parliament, the right and Priviledges of the Subject, to exempt the Grand Incendiaries from punishment, to suppress the free exercise of true Religion and power of Godlinesse, and to subject mens consciences to humane Ordinances. For the good therefore of the *Treaty* its only extended to him, and such Royallists as should enslave themselves to the will and lust of Princes, as for conscientious of men, it was to deprive them of peace, comfort, and safety.

Secondly, Whereas he saith, *You are blind and cannot see the Lord an effectuall saviour.* This is not so, for they doe see God to goe all along with them, and in every undertaking have large experience of his power and presence.

Lastly, For the *use* you may take it home, it is *yours* not *theirs*, for were you not blind, you would see God, where he appeares, and powerfully shewes himself in his administrations, and not publish such vain and ridiculous visions concerning the King, as gives occasion to some of laughter, to others of teares, and to all, of pitying and bewailing your folly and blindness: But I spare you.

It followes in the *Remonstrance*, *In conscience and duty to God and men, we hold our selves obliged, &c.* In answer to this he saith many words, the summe in short is this, that *they are not upon a sure foundation, nor dare they come to a strict examination of their own ground: for it is not which of these two to take, for their principal God or man, with severall other reproaches.*

The beast *Benon* not being able to defend himself with his horn, poysoneth the doge with his dung. Nothing have we yet met withall in his writing, but either unflavoury meat, or swelling words, and large accusations without proof.

I answer, First, They are upon a sound foundation, and for the ground of their undertaking this work, they did examine it, and find it to have a sound bottome: not hurried blindly upon weak passions of fear, jealousy, necessity, &c. but grounded on a clear call from God and men. *Have ye not read what David did when he was an hungred, and they that were with him?* It David and his followers in necessity, and to save their lives, did that which was not according to the letter of the Law. *Exod. 29. 32. 33. Levit. 8. 31. & 24. 9.* yet according to the intent of the Law: for the Ceremoniall rites were to give place to moral precepts. Without all doubt, then in greater necessity and extremity, as when it is not only to save mens lives, liberties, priviledges, but Religion and the true worship of God: if men act not in some things according to the letter of humane law, yet the intent of the law is observed, which is the safety and good of the people. If a man have maliciously set his house on fire, I may lawfully break in and quench it, if I can; if not cast it down: duty and conscience puts me upon it (yea, though I have

have no leave or permission) if my self and others otherwise should suffer.

2. *As we are to do good to them that bite us, love our enemies &c.* So also to endeavour that justice and judgment may be executed on evil doers, and so doing we are not the lesse godly and spiritual men.

3. What some of the Army have told him it comes not here into consideration: neverthelesse, if nothing were told him but what he relates, there is nothing in it to the matter he brings it for.

4. It is his mistake to think that it is to *decline the perfect way of Christ to go the waies of the Heathen*: for so far as the Gentiles were righteous, just, sober, faithful, we may and ought to walk the same way with them.

5. Though we must live under law, submit to Governours and be subject to them, neverthelesse we know that all Governours likewise are under the same law, and some lawes of men are prejudicial and hurtful to the people, and therefore when God by providence, puts in a fair opportunity for the suppressing of evil Magistrates, and redresse of bad laws, the mercie should be improved with thankfulness.

6. For the example of *Phinebas*, you did well only to name it and let it passe: for indeed 'tis beyond your measure to take off the strength of it. This we learn from it. 1. Zeal of justice in the cause of God, is a means to procure Gods mercy to man. 2. The Lord justifieth and rewards men, for the zeal of his glory, though in the carying on of the work there be some breach of rule or order: *Phinebas* was but a Priest's son, no ordinary Magistrate, nor proceeded he with the Malefactors judicially, neverthelss (carried forth by the mighty power and presence of God) thrust them through suddenly, and because this might seem blame-worthy in the eyes of men, and might procure much ill will, considering the persons whom he killed, the man being a Prince in *Israel*, and the other a Princes daughter of *Median*: therefore God himself gives witness, saying *Phinebas bath turned my wrath away from the children of Israel, while he was zealous for my sake among them, that I consumed not the children of Israel in my jealousy.*

In the last place, Reader thou art to take notice how Mr Sedgwick hath not yet forgotten his *mother Romish tongue*; I pray thee ask of him where he learn'd to say *Saint Paul*, what! Mr. Sedgwick to speak in the *speech of Ashtodol*, not the Names of *Baalim* yet out of his mouth; I verily thought the power of God in the new Covenant had taught him to say *Isbi*, no more *Baali*; we will therefore only leave out the word *Saint*, and *Paul's* words may wel be applied to him *you walk as a man*, are you not carnal? Speaking in the *Remonstrance*, how that rule of, *Salus populi suprema lex*, is of all others most apt to be abused: he puts it off with a few bad words, calling them, *a company of deceivers, and mountebanks*, adding *God is only the salvation of the people*, the which thing howsoever true, yet impertinately brought in: unless he means that men should neither eat, drink, labour, &c. because the Lord is their salvation.

Next he finds fault with them for *two or three pages*, telling them, *you are trimming your way to seek love*; his answer to these 2. or 3. pages is, abusing the words of Solomon Pro. 30. 19, 20. to vent out a great deal of wrath and rage against the Army, *you are gone from all solid principles of goodness: fly from one secret place to another to hide your selves from shame: you eat up King, Parliament and People to satisfy your carnal love of safety; while you think to make your selves more vendible, you make your selves more abominable: this is all, and what thinkest Reader, hath he not reached home to these other pages?* A thing look'd upon under water, howbeit straight, smooth and fair, yet standing so it, seems crooked, rough, and deformed: So when a man looks upon another through the water of ill-wil and prejudice, his wisdom shall be taken for folly, zeal for madness, sincerity for hypocrisie, justice in him called cruelty, in a word, whatsoever he saies or does, *spider-like* it is turn'd to poison.

Now follows *No more Addresses to the King*, and how the Parliament turn'd to the course of a *Personal Treaty*. Concerning this, First he saith, *You do in favour to your selves, abuse the Parliament, and in most things accuse others of those things that you your selves are guilty of: It is a full Charge; but where is his proof for this? how doth he make it good?* Here he useth the common practice

off false accusers, *but I shall leave that to some other pen: and why not the falshood as wel?*

2. Whereas in the *Remonstrance* the instabillity of the Parliament is shewed, and the evil practices of the King's partie: Here he saith, they are *too harsh and without any molifying oyl, &c.* First, 'tis cleer to every man that hath sence, that Mr. Sedgwick is not sometimes at home to take an account of his own soul; he taxes the Army as *over harsh & too large* in opening the faults of others, whereas, he (pitiful man) hath written six or seven sheets and all for the most part are accusations against the Army, and the grossest and vilest that can be, aggravated to the highest.

2. That the *Parliament for their sins are scattered and broken*: This in part is true, *to wit*, such Members as turned aside to their crooked waies; the Lord hath led them forth with the workers of iniquity: but peace shall be upon the rest.

3. That *the whol Kingdom is full of discontent against them*. I beleeve tis so, and more discontented will they be when they shall more cleerly understand, their particular treasons, and bloody designs, in joyning with Malignants, & their under-hand plottings to raise up farraign and domestick forces to destroy the Army and the wel-affected through the Kingdom.

4. That *the King's partie are struggling to get from under their intolerable afflictions, but cannot*. No marvail, seeing they grow worse and worse, and like mastives are the fiercer for their chain: and you Mr. Sedgwick seek to increase their miserie, by your *daubing with untempered mortar*, prophesying peace and safety to them, and that their deliverance is at hand, (and you know who did so Ezek. 13.) by which means they are hardened, and so fatted for destruction.

5. To that which you say of the Army, that they are not like the good Samaritan, but are as *flesh flies*, or the man *possessed with Devils*, seek the lands ruin to the furthest. As the Lord hath hitherto spoken for them, cleered their innocencie in spight of Hell, and maugre all the powers of darkness; so he will in this present work be a witness for them, and make it manifest to the world (by settling a wel-grounded peace) what they have desired, fought for, and sought after, and what hard things they have suffered for the good of the Nation: *The Righteous shall see it and rejoyce, and all iniquity shall stop her mouth.*

We have next, his *Story*, and 'tis a wofull one. First he saith, *Once our King and Parliament, or people, lived quietly and lovingly together, imbraced in the arms of Divine Goodness, prospered together as husband and wife.* When was this *once*? It is so known an untruth what he speaks, as I need not say any thing to it, onely wish him hereafter to pray with *David*, *set a watch (O Lord) before my mouth, keep the door of my lips.* I could multiply instances of the continual dissentions and differences between King and Parliament, from the beginning of his Reign down al along to this present Parliament: and for the People, such as were most sincere and pious lived not quietly and lovingly together with him, but suffered extremly under him, even to the spoiling of their goods, imprisonment, banishment, and some losse of life: and this only for the truth sake.

2. In calling the King *husband*, and the Parliament *wife*: as the former was false, so this is foolish.

And 3^{ly} Is that true, that *the Army have alwaies lusted after the royal bed*: What? *alwaies*, how are they then deeply revolted and turn'd back to the world? In pag. 43. you say, *they have been led up into the high things of God, and did all things in the Spirit of God.* But I shall not presse it further.

4. I perceive you are a stranger to the ground-work of the Treaty, 'tis too wonderful for you, and therefore have stated the thing amisse; it was to advance the King's party, stop the course of Justice against Capital offenders, that such as had notoriously cheated the Kingdome might not be questioned, the people brought again into their former bondage, such as would not, nor could in conscience submit to their Church-government and other forms might be suppressed, and under the name of Sectaries banished the Kingdom.

Lastly you say, *There is a blessing in this Treaty, destroy it not: & tell us how the Lord will come in as a thief in the night, and steal away the evil.* I answer, You may see the Lord is already come in, not in the night, but at noon-day, and hath discovered the deceitfulness of it, the snare is broken and we are escaped, and blessed be the Lord who hath not given us as a prey to their teeth.

Mr. Sedgwick is now come to examin their *Reasons* given in against

gainst the Treaty, and here he finds sundry faults; First, Because they would *make their own and the puplick interest to be one.*

Answ. 1. Howsoever such as have engaged for the publick, are in some things to be considered apart, and so their particular safety to be provided for: yet doth it not follow that they have therefore no interest in the publick, or what is offered to us by them is not the publick, but their own particular interest?

2. I do not well know what he means by *generally the people of the Land*; if he intends the King's party, all Papists and other malignants, I confess they go not with the *Remonstrance*, but desire rather to see all things in the condition they were in before these wars began: but for others (and this is properly the publick interest) they are one with the Army, holding fast to their first principles, namely, To be free from all arbitrary and tyrannical power, whether in King or Parliament, to enjoy all their rights, priviledges, and liberties, to have all hurtful laws and customs removed, not to have their consciences lorded over by any; to have justice done impartially upon offenders, and such a Government to be established as most tends to a publick peace and safety: And therefore whereas he saith, *These devised things you propose, the people know them not, affect them less than they know them*: Unless by *people* he mean Royallists, Delinquents, Malignants, and other treacherous plotters and their adherents, it is not true: for the publick doe desire them, call for them, and have a long time contributed their estates and engaged their persons in hope that these things would at last be procured.

His Second Exception is, Because the *Remonstrance* propounds, *That all power should be in the hands of the Parliament, and that to be certain and in the hands of a subordinate officer to call &c.* There is a great deal here left out, which makes the matter more full and cleer, but I let it passe, let us consider his reasons against this:

It is to throw down a King and lords, and to set up the people.

Anf. 1. The exorbitances and abuses of Kings and Lords may be taken off, and yet their persons remain, and as much power left them as is their due. 2. The rights and liberties of the people are above the places of Princes: for Kings (if duly chosen) were set by the people for the better enjoying of their rights &c.

and therefore there is still in the people a standing power to alter their former choise, and course of chusing if they se another way to be better for them. 3. If by *setting up of the people*, he mean the exercising of that power which God hath given them, in changing one kind of government and setting another more safe and profitable for them, it is well proposed: As he that helps a man (being unjustly thrust out of his possessions) to set him into his own again, is no way blame-worthy.

2. He saith, *should you not rather propose, that all power, dominion and reign should be given to the Lord?* I must ingeniously professe here is a riddle, and I understand it not: But good Sir, in your next, tell us what power or dominion is taken from the Lord, in seeking to have good laws established, righteous judgment executed, enormities removed, righteousness and peace practised amongst men. We have nothing more in his answer, but much harsh and bitter language. It is said of *Lewes* the Eleventh, he had a conceit, that every thing did stink about him, all the odoriferous perfumes and fragrant favours they could get could not ease him, but still he smell'd a filthy stinch. It much grieves me, that Mr. *Sedgwick* hath so ill an opinion of the Army, that how precious and sweet soever their Proposals are, yet all to his thinking is dung and trash.

A Third Exception is, and a fault which he finds in them, *That they all along carry the interest of the publick in opposition to the King's*. Here he makes a tedious and long discourse, and multiplieth words without knowledge: First he saith, *The publick hath its interest in the King, and the King his interest in the publick*. There is so much said in the *Remonstrance*, from page 16. to 35. that if he had duly weighed and considered the same, he would not have written as he doth. It is not the Army as *Sword-men* that have cut the knot in pieces and divided them, but indeed (as it is there abundantly proved) the King's ill courses, it is of himself that the union is dissolved, and he wholly lost his interest in the publick: for further satisfaction herein, I refer the Reader to the Book; and Mr. *Prin's Charge against the King*: and the several Remonstrances and Declarations of Parliament to the same purpose.

2. To omit his *godding* again of the creature, he tells us, how
God

God is the God of Kings more than of common men, assuming their titles: kinglineſſ agrees with all Chriſtians: It is a baſtardly religion that is inconfiſtant with the majeſtie and greatneſſ of the moſt absolute Monarch.

Anſ. 1. Take notice *Reader* that in all this, there is not one word which relates to the matter in hand. 2. As the Lord honoreth good Kings, ſo he is terrible to wicked ones, cuts them off and powres out cuntempt upon them. 3. Howſoever we grant that true religion is not inconfiſtant with monarchie, yet we know, and experience ſhews it, that there is no kind of civil government more averſe and oppoſite to the Kingdom of Chriſt and leſſe helpful to it than Monarchie. For the reſt, which is the gathering all into one God and man into one perſon, God and the King into one perſon: to mention it, is conviction enough.

A Fourth fault which he finds with them is, In putting all the enmity againſt godlineſſ and the power of it on the King's part, and charging it upon him as his intereſt, and assuming all religion and godlineſſ to themſelves. Here firſt of all, he makes a large diſcourſe in praiſe of himſelf, and ſpeaks much in his own behalf as the like I never obſerved in a man truly fearing God: It is perſonal and therefore I paſſe it over: yet ſo, as I wiſh him hereafter to remember that counſel of Solomon, *Let another man praiſe thee, and not thine own mouth, a ſtranger and not thine own lips.* It was their cuſtom at the *Olimpick* games, that the winner ſhould not put the garland on himſelf, but ſome other was to do it for him.

Now to the Answer, which is very large, but ſummarily thus: A juſtifying of the wicked, and condemning the righteous. Touching the Army he ſaith, *Their wayes are dark and ſlippery, crying up the Lord the Lord, when they do the works of the Devil, they have not the power of godlineſſ:* And for the King's party, *They do not oppoſe them for purity, and are in their principles more righteous than they, and many of their perſons more ſober, patient, loving, gentle, yea, more knowing in the things of God than they.* He further tells them they are led to the deſtroying of others, as righteous as themſelves, and are kept off from the ſight of their own iniquity: Next he mentioneth *Rom. 2. 1, 2. and Matt. 7. 1.* and hereupon ſharply reproveth them for accusing of others, and whileſt he is ſpeaking it, accuſeth them to go beſides all law and right, to ſet up will and power, that

that they shed the true innocent blood of Christ, spoil the temple of God, harden their hearts to pride, malice, and wicked insulting over their brethren, and much more to this purpose: then speaking of the King, he saith, *They persecute him whom the Lord hath anointed*, and he is the *apple of Gods eye*, and that God hath declared (and so much they know) rich mercie to the King and his partie in his book called *The Leaves of the Tree of life*. Thus Reader I have in brief given thee a true account of all that he hath written from page 12. to page the 20. I shall here only in short take some few observations and so go on.

1. What a bold challenge that is, page 12. where he *Challengeth the whole earth to accuse him of any injustice to God or man*: Now can there be greater injustice, than to charge Gods people with manifest falshood and untruth: *Thine own mouth condemneth thee, and not I, yea, thine own lips testifie against thee*. I hope I may without exception or offence use his own words, page 50. *You may read your description excellently pen'd long ago, 1 Tim. 4. speaking lyes in hypocrisie.*

2. Is it not also great injustice to God (if not to prefer, yet) to equalize Satans working in wicked men, with the Spirits working upon the souls of the Saints.

3. What sober, considerate, or wise man, as he is reprovng another for rash judging and uncharitableness, would at the same time shew himself so uncharitable and rash in the very same thing, as there is scarce a president or example before of the like.

4. Is this Mr. Sedgwick's *Justice upon the Armes Remonstrance*; when there is a true report made of the King's grievous crimes and miscarriages with his partie, not having any thing at all to gainsay the truth of the relation, to vilifie and reproach the reporters?

5. In sending us to his book, we take good notice of it, and what he there saith of *the rich mercy to the King and his party*: and from it do observe, how extremly he is carried away with vain fancies, and publishing idle dreams to the world: *The Spirit speaketh expressly* clearly and with fulness of certainty, which evidently demonstrates that in these things he speaks not by the Spirit of God, seeing his words fall to the ground. In page 19. he

he begins to take into consideration some grounds laid down in the *Remonstrance* why the King is not to be received again to peace, nor restored to his Office and dignity, and promiseth to let them see how much their injustice is against God and themselves in that which they profess for justice.

1. Saith he, *you insist upon this pag. 24. God hath given him so clearly into your hands to do justice, and afterward God hath given a double judgment against him &c. and pag. 5. God makes haste to judgment and hath appeared as a severe avenger.* To this his answer is, "The King is the greatest sufferer in the kingdom; hath God judged him? and why wil you not submit to his judgement? will ye take it out of Gods hand? when did God chasten or judge men, then give him to men to chasten again? or when did Gods people fall upon punishing after God hath done it? is God weary or remiss, that you would have men take it into their hands?"

Ans. 1 It is a bad consequence because a man hath bin a great sufferer, therefore, no more should be inflicted: God punished Pharaoh many wayes and greatly too, yet he hardening his heart had afterward, heavier sorer and deeper plagues.

2. Men in the execution of justice upon offenders, take not judgment out of Gods hand, but rather indeed are Gods hand in the work.

3: When God gave in a witness against Acan, that he had troubled Israel, howsoever that was a Divine punishment upon him, yet did the people afterwards stone him to death, and so the Lord turned from the fierceness of his anger.

4. What weariness or remissness in executing judgement do men impute to God, who having by his providence cast into their hands a principal offender, if they according to his desert proceed to justice against him. The truth is, in his Answer there is not one word that comes directly home to the matter for which he brings it.

Secondly (he saith) *You argue page 24. no remorse appearing proportionable to the offence: if that could be seen, you would regard it with a proportionable tenderness towards him. Again you say, There is no change of heart, no repentance, no free nor full yeelding to all the parts of a publick and religious interest.* This he refutes thus, "Herein you

“destroy and deny that free mercy of God upon which you have
 “lived a long while, manifest that your profession of the Gospel
 “was indeed but in letter, not in power : God loves first before
 “we can, but you must receive good before you can give, you
 “know not the heart, nor can you judge of the Kings principles,
 “they are too high for you, If he should turn to you he should
 “be but seven times more the child of the Devil.

Howsoever Mr. *Sedgwick* for his own turn, takes some broken pieces of the Remonstrance and toucheth not the strength of the matter, yet so much he takes out as he cannot answer. But to the point, 1. It is agreeable to Gospel truth, and walking in the power thereof, for Saints upon just occasion to lay open the unrighteousness of men, and to endeavour that punishment may be inflicted, whether it be in an ecclesiastical or civil way. 2. Observe the looseness of his arguing, *God loves first*. What's the inference? therefore offenders, as murderers, thieves &c. ought not to be punished. 3. If I see and tast the fruit I can easily discern what the tree is, without digging to the root. He tells us page 31. *The speech sheweth what is within*, and cites *Matth. 12. 34, 35*. hence we may undoubtedly conclude, that men apparently and visibly wicked, are corrupt and unsound within. 4. What the King's principles are, which are so mysterious and deep we search not after them, his known principles are known to be dangerous and destructive to the Nation, & he holds them without change or amendment. 5. Is Mr. *Sedgwick* in good earnest and speaks as he thinks; that the King should be seven times more the child of the Devil if he should turn to the Army? What! in a condition better than they? yea, seven times better: surely then they are very bad. In pag. 12. he saith, *He understands not the utmost of the religion they walk in*. This seems to make the accusation the more probable, but many others lesse prejudiced against the Army, and better principled in religion, know 'tis false, and that they are as holy and pure in conversation as he himself, howbeit, with lesse noise, sound not a trumpet before them as the hypocrits do.

Thirdly, He brings in the *Remonstrance* arguing against the accomodation, *because there is no equal ballance of affairs*, page 24. *your meaning is (saith he) as you often exprest, the King's forces are wholly*

wholly subdued. Here he is short, *Noble enemies require no more but to get their enemies into their power, then they shew mercy*; for this he brings *Elisha's* example, 2 King. 6. 22. and add how the Lord never brings us down, but that he might restore us and lift us up again.

Ans. 1. It is sometimes so far from commendation, to spare an enemy gotten into our hands, as that not to do justice upon him, exceedingly displeaseth God. To omit many instances, 'tis memorable in *Ahab's* case, what sad tydings the Prophet brought him for letting *Benhadad* to escape, *Thus saith the Lord, Because thou hast let go out of thy hand a man whom I appointed to utter destruction: therefore thy life shall go for his life, and thy people for his people:* 1 King, 20. 24. So *Saul*, his sparing of *Agag* when he was in his hands, was one cause that the Lord did rend the Kingdom of *Israel* from him. Again, what hath been more frequently practised by *noble enemies* than severity and justice upon such as they have gotten into their power? who of all the Kings of *Canaan* taken in war by *Joshua*, were not afterwards by his appointment put to death? So *Samuel* did *Agag*: and *Jebu Abaziah* King of *Judah*. 3. Touching *Elisha's* example in sparing the *Syrians*, it teacheth us thus much, that in our own cause we must render good for evil, and if our enemy hunger, feed him: and from his words to the King of *Israel* we may gather, that men used not to kill such as in the field were taken captives, and stood not out in hostility: But there is nothing from the place to be collected, that justice may not be executed upon some offenders for special and notorious crimes, whether subdued in war or taken any other way.

Fourthly. *The often caused war to maintain his interest against the publick interest this constantly and unweariedly;* So the Remonstrance. At this Mr. *Sedgwick* grows angry, and falls into passion: *You lye grossly saith he: But wherein? These things which you propound were never thought of in the begining of the quarrel.* The Parliament alwaies professed never to alter the Government, to protect the King's Person &c. Afterwards we have something said in scorn of their present form of government, with his fiction and dream touching the King.

Ans. 1. Touching the time when somethings are to be proposed, it is the necessary occasion which must alwaies be considered:

In civil affairs we see what at one time may be born, others afterwards upon just and good ground may abolish and take away; or otherwise we should deny men the use of their sense and reason.

Secondly, We know it is no *Parliament principle* that their votes and agreement should be taken as the Lawes of the *Medes and Persians* which altereth not: their constant practise is to alter and change as they see reason for it, and therefore it is the weakest reasoning that can be, to argue the Parliament voted so and so, therefore it must stand: For instance, the Prelates with their courts, cannons, service-book, and other dependances are abolished, and that by vote of Parliament, now put case they should be (which God forbid) again re-established, aske of a Royallist if there might not be enough said to justify the Parliament in this latter act. Thirdly, For the odium and disgrace which he puts upon their present form of government, calling it a *headlesse monster, a boddy-doddy, an all-breach, able to affright solid and serious men to their armes*, and if he should fight against any thing, he should fight against it, and pag. 12. *brats of their own brain*. In reading this, it makes me thinke how *Nichomachus* in *Plutarch* very fitly answered an idot, that could see no beauty in the famous *Helena* painted by *Zeuxis*, take my eyes said *Nichomachus* and you shall thinke her to be a goddesse. I will not here speak how treasonable his words are, as moving strongly to rebellion, and to raise a new war, and to cause commotions again in the land: But I see tis true, *In the multitude of words there wanteth not sin, and he that refraineth his lips is wise*.

Fourthly, He should have cleared the King of the things laid to his charge, as to have been the author and contriver of a most unjust war, and is consequently guilty of all the innocent blood rapine, spoyl, and mischief to the Kingdome, as in the *Remonstrance*, pag. 24. adde the losse of *Rochel* in *France*, by his lending ships to the *French King*; and the *Isle of Ree* and *Cales* voyage, and the ground and reason of the quarrel. How he endeavoured to stir up factions and differences between the honest party in *England* and *Scotland*, that he might take advantage by such division: his open declaring in Parliament, that he owes no account of his actions to none, but to God alone. What hath been reported a-

bout his *Fathers death*, and Marquis *Hambleton*, his designe in bringing up the *Northern Army*, and his large offers to the *Scots Army* to be brought up to *London* to awe the Parliament, his usuall breaking of his promises, protestations, oathes, as in many particulars might be named, his sending over the Jewels of the crown to be pawned by the *Queen* for powder and ammunition, to fight against the Parliament, and the Priviledges, rights, and liberties of the subject. How he made 1500 widdows in one morning as Mr. *Henderson* told him. And concerning *Ireland*, how clear it is by many severall passages, and by the examination of *Mar-carte*, and *Macquire*, &c. that the pretence of men for the King of *Spaines* service a year or two before the rebellion in *Ireland* was but a colour to keep some in armes for a foundation of that rebellion: how the *Irish rebels* call themselves, the kings and Queens Army, the first clause in the oath injoynd by the supream catholick councell at *Kelkenny* in *Ireland*, was to maintain his royall prerogative against the puritants in the Parliament of England. In one of his letters taken at *Nazeby* he commanded the Earle of *Ormond* to give particular thanks to *Mustarre* and *Planket* the two Arch-rebels in *Ireland*: so divers of the *Irish rebels* had private passes from the King for the heading of the rebels there. I let passe loans, shipmony, monopolies, Knighthood, inlarging of forrests, inclosing of commons, ingrossing of gunpowder, his unparrell uxoriousnesse and affections to the *Queen*, and compliance with the *Pope*, &c. Now all these things Mr. *Sedgwick* should first have answered, before he should have affirmed, *If there be any reason for a Prince to take up armes against his subject*: he hath, and why so? because there attempt is to destroy the King, and overthrow the very foundations of Government, and a little before, the life of the King and his posterity is aymed at. Answ. The premises granted to put him by, is a thing lawful and necessary (of which more hereafter.) And this may be done without destroying the very foundations of government, unlesse by *foundations* he means some particular form or kind of government, but that is not proper to say, for the *foundations of government*, is indeed that absolute entire and independant power residing alwayes in the people, and this foundation cannot be destroyed, I mean the right and habit of it: though the use and exercise may be wrung'd

from them : so that to change and alter in respect of the forme or kinde of governments by vertue of the said power it is in the peoples liberty whensoever they see just cause and reason for it.

Fifely, For the rest, which is, first reproaching the Army, as to be their designe *only* to attain their end, malice, ambition, and revenge. And secondly, That the King shall put all into Gods hand, and shall receive it again in the life and glory of God. This is capable of no other answer but reproof and pittie.

To follow Mr. Sedgwick in his own order, next he comes to answer pag 26. 27. &c. which is the second part of the question, and a second reason against accommodation : *The safety of an agreement*, here he takes some words out of the Remonstrance, *That the King hath forfeited all his power into your hands ; that the people are free to make the best advantages*, and pag. 27. *having him and his party captivated, and in their power*. Reader, I professe unto thee in the word of truth, here I have read over some leaves, and have done my best to see what is in his answer, but for severall pages together, as 23, 24, 25, 26, &c. I finde nothing therein, for I esteeme not his calumniation, rash-judging, self-prayse as any thing ; and for this be thou thy self a witnesse.

Saith he, *We have all this while to justify our selves in this war*, said, *that our war was but defensive, and if it prove otherwise, we must repent of it*. Answer. It is not alwayes a fault to change from a defensive to an offensive way and course. A man being set upon by a highway-robber, or pirate at sea, may at first resolve only his owne safety, and yet afterward seek to wound and kill the enemy, and justly too. To apply this, when the war first began betweene the King and Parliament it was unknown to us, what murders, massacres, and spoyles, he would commit, in and upon the land, and people. Again his former perfidiousnesse, treacheries, and destroying plots, were not then so publickly and clearly understood as since ; and therefore no marvail there is a change from defensive to offensive, seeing he hath given the cause, and so no argument of lightnesse, hypocrisie, self-ends, in persons thus changed.

Secondly, He is large in giving out what was in their mindes when they began the war, *That the King and His party were wicked men, not fit for the places and power they had, they were Saints, and no*
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body fit to rule but they: glad when the Parliament tooke armes, thinke themselves the onely true Lords, and except the King would become one of their Saints, &c. *Ans.* It was a reason which *Elias* layd down, why he was willing to die, *I am no better then my fathers*; for men eminent in grace, gifts, office, &c. to have things laid to their charge, which they never knew it, hath been practised in all ages, *Mr. Sedgwick* is not the first, that hath bent his tongue like a bow against the godly this way. *Tiberius* on a time hearing certaine persons speaking unreverently of *Augustus*, acquainted him therewith, to whom *Augustus* answered, let it not trouble you *Tiberius* that any man speaketh ill of us, it is sufficient that no man is able to hurt us: Gods presence with and protection for the Army is such, as bad tongues cannot hurt them, neither darken their splendor and beauty in the eyes of honest and godly people.

3. Next he blames them in saying, *This miserable inconvenience of a Treaty, this insuaring Treaty*, and because they call it *a preposterous and self-deserting way*. pag. 27. And hence he takes occasion to tell them that they have defiled their cause, count all their owne because they have fought for it, they are no Saints, yet he scornes that cause that is subject to ruin and destruction.

Ans. 1. What is said in the Remonstrance touching this last Personall Treaty, is true enough, for who but Malignants and Papists were the first contrivers and abettors thereof. The Lord *Goring* in his former intercepted letters could tell us so much, that if the King could cudgel the Parliament into a Treaty the King had brought his designe to perfection: and tis reported of the King Himself that he should say, if such a thing could be brought about, then it should not be in the power of men or devils to hinder him from bringing all his designes to his own hearts desire.

Secondly, For men to act for publick rights, and to hinder wicked designes is no base and accursed way, but an approved path, walked in by the Saints in all former ages.

Thirdly, It is not faith but fancie, when God gives in meanes and wayes of preservation and safety, not to observe the providence in the carefull use of them.

Fourthly, He chargeth them to be of a base and poor spirit, and unbecomming Christian Souldiers, to speak of *persons ingaged, the party adhering, and to think the King will be revenged on them, for their*

their eminent activity against him. It is (saith he) a principle very destructive to continue the disturbance of a nation, to save our lives: afterward he shewes what he would doe himself in such a case.

Ans. 1. It is easily observed what is the main drift and scope of his whole dicourse in many pages here together, namely a direct crossing and contradiction of Christs counsel, *Be ye wise as serpents and harmlesse as doves*: but according to his principle, a man cannot be a sheep, unlesse he runne himselfe into the Lyons mouth: nor a dove, without falling purposely into the snare. Because the Army, to the doves innocency joyn the serpents prudence, that is, seek to avoyd danger so far as lawfully they may, hence he cryes out, *Fear a snare, and the pit have taken hold of you. I laugh at your destruction, and mock when your fear comes, you are no Saints, you live not in God, &c.* as if a provident care of safety, stood not with the fear of God.

Demosthenis upbraiding the *Athenians* with improvidence and incircumspection, presented to them an innocent fool, who being struck on the one cheek, laid his hand on the place where he received the blow, and being smitten on the other did the like, never using either of his hands to defend himself from further blowes. Such ideots and blocks *Mr. Sedgwick* would perswade men to be, take blows and stand still, and never seek to avoid the stroke, though God have put means into their hands, and may lawfully escape the danger.

But Secondly, It is a great mistake of *Mr. Sedgwick*, to think that continuance of the Army is destructive to the Kingdom, and that their disbanding would be for the peoples peace, good welfare, he harps often upon this string, whereas there is nothing more cleer than the contrary.

Thirdly, For the rest of the answer, 'tis only what he hath, and what he can do, propounded in four heads: and I passe it over, if any man can make use of it much good may it do him.

From pag. 27. to 37. we have a tyresome discourse of two things, The Armies badness, and his goodnes: their fear, his faith.

1. Whereas it is in the Remonstrance, *We might challenge all story for one instance in the like case*: howsoever he grants a good use of story, yet in them it is a dull thing &c.

Ans. 1. I never observed this principle before, Because men profess

ness the Kingdom of Christ, and have a light of truth and justice, that therefore they should be incapable of the use of former story: doth Religion take off from a Christian, because a Christian? what is proper to every man, as a man moral, civil, natural? 2. If there be a good use of story as he grants, then might they at this time well challenge it reasoning the greater to the lesse, as thus: If all Nations keeping their interest, and proceeding according to equity and justice, have upon fewer and lesser crimes refused personal treaties with their Kings, and called them to an accompt and done justice upon them according to their facts: there is all the reason in the world, that the like be done to this King whose exorbitances and enormities are beyond most parallel instances:

Enquire (saith *Bildad*) of the former age, and prepare thy self to the search of the fathers; for we are but of yesterday. Sundry Histories and Authors might be produced to manifest that Emperours and Kings not only have been restrained for their Tyranny and misgovernment, yea, for not committing the evil which this king hath done: Take for instance (his name sake) *Charles* the Ninth King of *France* four or five federal conclusions of Peace were solemnly made and ratified between the King and the Protestants, but no sooner made and proclaimed, but presently violated of the King and the popish party, by massacres and and new treacherous plots to extirpate the Protestant party; so that every accommodation proved but a seminary of a new and more bloody war almost to the utter ruin of *France*. In the year 1592. when a publick peace was made, and all differences to outward appearances, buried in eternal oblivion, the King contrary to his faith and Oath caused the *Admiral* of *France* (the Protestants cheefe pillar) as he departed from the Counsel to dinner, to be shot with a Harquebuze, which carried away the forefinger of his right hand and wounded him in the left arm. The King to colour his treachery, swears with an excreation to the King of *Navarre* and others who complained of this outrage, to take such exemplary justice on the offenders, as the *Admiral* and his friends should have cause to rest satisfied, command them to be pursued, appoints three of the Parliament to make Information against them, protests after this again and again, to be exceedingly sorry, that this Act touching His Honor, that He will be

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revenged for it, so as the memory of it should remain for ever, writes to Governors of the provinces, chief towns, and Magistrates, that He would take such order as the Authors of so wicked an Act should be known and punished. And to His Ambassadors to forreign Princes, That they should make it known to all the world, that this Outrage did displease Him. And for the Admiral's safety He commands the Captains of His Guard to give him as many of His Guard as he pleased; to suffer no Papiests to enter his lodging; and adviseth all the Gentlemen Protestants then in Paris to lodge about the Admirals lodging. But all this Court Holy-water was only to keep every bird within his own nest, and a pit-fall to entrap the chief of the Protestants: for the same day after dinner, the King and Queen mother, the Duke of Guize, and others, take counsel to murder the Admiral, and all the chief Protestants, the night ensuing, not only in Paris, but thorow out all France whilst they were sleeping in their beds. Which most tyranical barbarous Tragedy was accordingly acted, the Admiral slain in his lodging, and his head cut off, carried to the King and Queen mother, who causing it to be embalm'd, sent it to the Pope and Cardinal of Lorrain for an assurance of the death of their most capital enemy: all the Protestants, Noblemen and Gentlemen, lodging in the Admirals quarters undergo the like Butchery, the streets of Paris are strewed with Carkeises, the pavements, market-places, and river dyed with Protestant blood, about ten thousand of them being thus treacherously massacred in their beds, at such a season when they thought themselves most safe, and that on the Lords own sacred Day, a very unsutable time for such a bloody prophane, infernal sacrifice. No sooner was this matchlesse treachery of this King against his own natural subjects executed, but He avowes and justifies that which he but the day before so solemnly and openly disclaimed, as a means to cut off all commotions for time to come: of which we shall say more in its proper place.

2. He brings forth their main evil surmisings (as he calls them) as how apt Princes are to break such accommodations, and how easie it is for them. Page 29. his answer hereunto is, that they are pursued with fear and wrath on every side.

Ans. The simple beleeveth every word, but the prudent man looketh well to his going. Do they in the Remonstrance manifest a jealousy and fear? what have they now done? is there not a cause?
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for who knows not that it hath been the continual practice, of all such Kings when they have quieted the people by an hypocritical and feigned yeilding to their proposals, and gotten themselves into the Throne again, to pick quarels, make breaches and commit greater outrage and insolencies, than ever they did before, without regard of faith or oath.

Hear what Mr. Prinne saith to this thing in his *Sovereign power of Parliaments*. Part 2. page 34. It hath been (saith he) *the constant practice of most of our Kings (as John, Henry the 3. Edward and Richard the 2. with others, who after war and differences with their Parliaments, Lords and Commons, upon ACCOMMODATIONS made between them, as soon as ever they got possession of their castles Ships Ammunition seized by their Subjects, break all Vowes, Oathes, Covenants made unto them, oppressing them more than ever, enlarging their own prerogatives and diminishing the Subjects liberties, (yea taking away many of their lives against law, oathes, promises pardons) on purpose to enthrall them, which still occasioned new Commotions.* And a little after brings in this Observation, *Well then might the Royal Prophet give us this Divine caution, Oh put not your trust in Princes: Surely men of high degree are already laid in the ballance, they are altogether lighter than vanity, both in their oath and promises.*

Again, This same Mr. Prinne in the Appendix pag, 74. Commends it as a Maxime held by the Nobles of Alphonso King of Castile, a cruel and treacherous Prince, *That a Tyrant being offended will at some time revenge himself, and therefore they MUST NOT TRUST HIM UPON ANY RECONCILIATION.*

Thirdly, For the rest, 'tis only his Prophecie touching the restitution of the King to His antient rights. How his suffering hath made him a *Royalist that never cared for him, (mark it Reader who taught him that) the poor suffering oppressed King and His partie shall have his compassion, and for the Army they are upon foolish wayes, hope for nothing but deceit and falsehood and treachery: fear compasseth them about on every side like Cain: safety flies from them, God looked upon them every way with sadness and wrath: and much more of this language.* But I have met with it so often as I am now quite tyred out: I am glad that His Excellency and the Council of Warre can so patiently bear it, tis a great addition

to their goodnes and largenes of spirit.

The Eagle being provoked by the night-crow with her clamorous noise and screeching to fight yet will not stir up to battle, howsoever the crow be too weak for her.

And it is attributed to a Horse as his praise and acting argueth great courage and mettle to him, when dogs bark at him and run after him, he will not turn against them but runs forward as if he neither saw them nor heard them, although he can easily trample them under his feet.

For the other particular which is a large praising of himselfe, I shall say very little to it, seeing it relates not to the publicke cause for which I have ingaged: neither is it materiall to set down his words, for howsoever they are a heape, and a huge one too. (see page 32, 33, 34, 35.) yet in short it all amounts to this much: *He dwels in that mountaine where there is no hurtfull thing, feares no surprizes being in a state not apprehensive of danger, sees no evil, knowes no evil, he lives where there is no more curse, death, nor sorrow, &c. He can binde Kings, yea, the devil, and cast him into the bottomlesse pit, dissolve all his works, and secure him within his own bounds, that he shall no longer destroy the earth.*

Christ saith, *If I bear witnesse of my selfe my witnesse is not true.* But leaving that question whither he speaks the truth: this is a truth without question, that in this boasting practise, he walkes contrary to all sober, meeke, humble, and self-denying Christians both past and present. If this doe not argue a man to be a *boaster, proud, heady, high minded*, then I know not what doth: we judge the empriness of the vessel by the lowdnesse of the sound, brasse tinckleth more then gold, and a bladder is soon blown up, but when it is most swoln there is nothing in it, but a little ayre. The tree *Alpina* brings forth the fairest blossomes of all trees, but the bee suspects it to be venemous, because it is so glorious, and therefore neither tasteth it, nor commeth neer it. If self-praising may be admitted as a ground or reason to suspect a person so doing not to be sound, Mr. *Sedgwick* surely more then any man I know, gives cause of such a suspicion, in making himself so glorious with his own mouth.

Two things I shall here commend to the Readers observation.

1. In page 49. speaking of the Army, he saith, *Your condition is well*

well expressed, Esay 65.4,5. *which say, stand by thy self, come not neere me, for I am holier then thou* : and often he taxeth them for counting themselves Saints, righteous, holy, &c. and judging the King and his party otherwise : whereas in the mean time, in 8 or 9. pages together, he hath little else but calling the Army, *dogs* and *devils*, and himself a Saint ; they in Satan, darknesse, hel ; he in God, light, heaven ; they all fear, himself all faith ; they deceivers, hypocrites, lyars, but he righteous, sincere, true ; speake out Reader, hast thou ever seen more palpable grosnesse ?

2. In pag. 34. he expresseth himself thus : *if you find any world in me, you shall doe me right to afflict it, break it, let it suffer, &c.* Tis the best thing I find in all his book, and it gives me the more encouragement to speak to him of his error and fayling, and the greater hope I have of his amendment : now if the tree may be known by the fruit, and the speech shewes what he is within, as a stinking breath argues rotten lungs, and filthy inwards, then without doubt this followes, to wit, that there is a great deal of *world* in you, many sinfull lusts, and vile affections, which need afflicting and breaking : look upon these words, they are your owne, page 36. and specially applyed to his Excellency and the Generall Counsell of War, *You are cast out and gone out, and live out the blessed and glorious presence of God, and so are Dogs rated by God into a filthy kennel of base things, and are as fearful as dogs.*

I do not set this down as if in other places there were not the like words, but to lay it before you (as a glasse) that you may see there is *world* in you, and what an unruly tongue you have to powre out evil things. *If any man seem religious, and bridleth not his tongue, but deceiveth his own heart, that mans religion is vain.* Likewise your boasting and glorying, it is a thing altogether unbecoming a Child of God : The Saints have scorn'd and loathed it, 'tis no song of Zion ; Paradise excludes it, in the new Jerusalem are no self-praisers, but all prayfers of God : 'tis the spirit of Antichrist to say, *I am, & none else besides me* : the dialect and tongue of a Pharisee and hypocrite, to say, *I am not as other men.* But specially I must tell you of a world and wickedness in you, (I say not a word of wickedness) which is your idle fancies and dreams, Lord, what a deal of froth and foolery is there forth in the world under the name of *William Sedgwick* : and that late *Non-sense, The Spiritual*

Spiritual madman, shews how more & more Satan beguiles you and carries you on with stronger delusions. Now the good God for his Christs sake heal your error and restore you to sobriety, truth, and the spirit of meekness.

Having ended with his Answer to the Armies exceptions against the Treaty: next he leads it onto *two Objections* mentioned in the Remonstrance

1. Their former declaring for the King and compliance with Him, And here he repeates some of their words, 1. *Partly necessitating us for the present prevention of that mischief to the publick they were running into in that kind as we apprehended.* 2. *That moderation was but hypocritical.* 3. *We aim'd not at the strengthening our selves to the ruin of any person, but to prevent &c.* And afterwards you repeat and say, *'Twas error, unbelief and carnal counsels.*

To let passe how he saies, *There's no kind of men can be such compleat and neat knaves as a Jesuit, a Pharisee, an old well-studied-Professor of religion:* And also his bold speech, *That he knows their waies and hearts.*

His answer contains a threatning, to shame them for iniquity of holy things, and to shew the abomination of their Reformation.

1. He saith, "It was not their sin to carry out principles of goodness and tenderness to all.

I answer, It was *Jehoshaphat's* failing, and the Lord blames him for it, saying, *Should'st thou help the ungodly?* Which shews that aid and assistance yeelded to some may be unwarrantable as the case stands.

2. For his saying, *In your turning, now you turn not to God.* The answer is, If God justifie, who can condemn? His heaping up reproachful words proves nothing, only argues an ill govern'd tongue.

3. Is the sight of sin and godly sorrow for it, *a miserable and dark principle and a very wicked practice?* We know better: The Apostle saith, *If we say we have no sin, we deceive our selves, and the truth is not in us.* And therefore in the Remonstrance, they speak as Saints and true Christians, when they say, *Wee find matter of acknowledgement before the Lord concerning our error, frailty, unbelief.* For indeed, the dayes of faith, are as the dayes of the year, some fair

fair sometimes foule, one while a sunshine summer, another while a long and tedious winter : A Christian soul between faith and fear, is like a piece of Iron between two Loadstones the one drawing one way the other drawing another way. *Gal. 5. 17.* As a valiant man may startle at the sudden discharge of a peece of Ordnance behinde his back, who otherwise having time to collect and summon his spirits would not fear to stand at the mouth of a charged Cannon in a good cause : Thus it is with the godly and so it seems to be the Armies case, a sudden gust or storme comming unawares startled them : But since the Lord having drawn up their spirits, filled what was empty, and laid in promises on their hearts of his presence and protection : Now they fear not what man can do, but in the strength of God are resolved to break through all difficulties, go forward in spight of all opposition, hold their own, and stand fast in the work, making this use and advantage of their former slip, to look the better to their steps and walkings, and seek *in their actions Gods glory the more.*

The Second thing is, The Covenant, which obliges to the preservation of the Kings Person and Authority. Here (as his manner is) he takes out of the Remonstrance some pieces and broken sentences, as that clause page 55. *In the preservation of true Religion and Liberty of the Kingdom :* so page 57. *If it have an evil sense it calls for repentance : 'twas betwixt man and man.* Page 59. *And after (saith he) you would exclude God from being any thing but a witness.*

Before I come to his answer, I shal propound some few things to the Readers consideration :

1. A Covenant though lawfully made, yet if afterwards it cannot be performed without sin, in such case it binds not, neither may it be kept : For it is a truth without dispute, we may not do evil that good may come thereof.

2. That Covenant is not binding where the condition or thing is not performed upon which the promise or tye was made. For instance, the people obliging themselves, to *preserve the Person of the King and His Authority*, intended withall their own Safety, Liberties, Rights : upon this ground, I say, they Covenanted, namely, the *publick safety* : seeing therefore the publick good is
inconsistent

inconsistent with the preservation of his person and authority, that covenant binds not, for when something is promised for such a cause, and afterward is found not to be, that promise is void. so Amesius.

3. If men either implicitly or knowingly bind themselves to breake any Law of God or rule of justice, in such a case the engagement holds not; specially in that particular, and so farre as that clause extendeth. To apply it, if men oblige themselves to preserve the *Kings Person and Authority*, &c. and God in the mean time calls for justice, their obligation must give place to his commandment.

But it will be objected how *Joshua* and the Elders of the Jews, kept covenant with the *Gibeonites*, *Joshua* 9. howsoever devoted to destruction. I answer, that covenant was lawfull: see *Deut.* 2. 26. *Josh.* 11. 19, 23. *Judg.* 2. 12. 14. 2 *Sam.* 21. 1, 2. 2. 9, 14. *Deut.* 20. 10. By all which places it appeareth that they onely of the *Canaanites* were devoted to destruction, who did not seek for peace, for if they would sue for it upon these conditions, to wit, abjure their idolatry, embrace the true religion of the Jews, and submit themselves, their land, good, and all they had to their dominion it was to be granted them.

Fourthly, It is no binding oath when either there wants power and right in the administrator, or the persons taking it are not capable of the thing put upon them: and here to speake my minde freely, I have not yet seen a cleer ground either for the one or other touching that covenant.

Fifthly, Take notice when persons enter into covenant about things, out of their power and right, such covenants are neither lawfull nor to be kept. I would willingly know what was meant by the preservation of the *Kings person and authority*; whether notwithstanding all the tyranny and oppression he should commit, it was yet intended to preserve him from justice, and to keep him in his place of government; if so, then it was an unlawfull covenant, protestation, oath, because they had no right or power to doe such a thing: it being a thing against the Law of God, nature, and nations, and so went beyond their bounds. But if in taking it, it was intended, by preserving the person of the King, his authority, &c. so far as it should be agreeable to justice, law, conscience, it was tolerable, and no otherwise.

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These things premised, the lesse will serve in reply to his answer. 1. To that he saith, *God put the preservation of the Kings life and authority into the covenant on purpose to save him after all his sufferings.* *Answ.* 1. This is onely his saying, and we may deny it with as much reason, truth and authority.

2. If God save him not (he means a temporall salvation, or else speaks impertinently) then he put him not into the covenant for such a purpose; for Gods counsel and purpose shall stand.

But 3. Charity thinks no evil; it is the rule of love when speeches or actions are doubtfull in themselves, and in their report; and may be taken either well or ill, alwayes to interpret them in the best part. *The preservation of the Kings person* is in the covenant, but how? if we will judge charitably (seeing nothing is explained) it is thus, the *covenanters* intended the glory of God in the Kings preservation, that is, obliedged themselves so far as it be lawfull and honorable.

Secondly, That oaths and covenants should be the main pillars of humane societies, we grant; but there is one thing which you still want, and that makes you to erre, namely distinctions: doe you mean all covenants and oaths, I desire to think better of you; and that your meaning is onely just ones; but howsoever hereafter learn to make distinction, and it will prevent much stumbling in you.

3. That these are the last and perillous times spoken of 2 Tim. 3 1. we will take it so; and doe observe your Greek *hiko o accusers*, you speak also of applying that text; you need not goe farre to make application: for certaine, if your pamphlet were divided into ten parts nine of the ten would be found vile slanders, and false accusations. It may be the Lord will smite you, and make your heart tender for it.

Mr. Sedgwick by this time is neer come to the proposalls, that the Person of the King may be brought to justice: but before he takes of that, he tels us, *This is a strange remedy against civill wars, to lay aside treating.* *Answ.* 1. We may well desire to have that laid aside, which we assuredly know was devised and carried on to the prejudice and hurt of the publick, and so a remedy worse then the disease. 2. You mistake your self to say, *treating is laid aside*, for tis neither so nor so: unlesse you will say, that a sick man
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layes aside the meanes and remedy of health, when he refuseth bloody and murderous mountebancks and quacksalvers, and make choise of honest able and faithfull phisitions.

Secondly, Speaking to the Army, you say of the King, *pag. 41. If he were in power you would shrinke out of the Kingdom. Answ. 1.* In this you shew much lightnesse and contradiction, say and unsay, and indeed know not what you say: sometimes in your propheticall fooleries you cry up the King, that when he comes again to be in power, he shall be meek, mercifull, full of divine goodnesse, and in particular doe assure the soldiers that he will forget the wrong they have done him; and here you threaten them, *if he were in power they would shrinke out of the kingdome. But 2.* I verily beleieve (howsoever like *Caiaphas*, probably he knew not what he said, yet) in this he speaks the very truth, that is, *if he were in power*, honest men would shrinke out of the Kingdome. For as a Lyon at liberty, after some restraint, is more fierce, cruel, bloody then he was before; so he, following the steps of former tyrants, would exercise more cruelty outrage and oppression then ever he did before he was hunted, taken, and shut up. That is a remarkable passage in the seventh book of the *Remembrances of Monluc* one of the Marshals of France, and a profest Papist, speaking of the massacre at Paris, *The King*, (saith he) *never forgot the chase that the Admirall gave him from Meaux to Paris, swifter then ordinary, kings sooner forget a good piece of service then any offence.* Afterwards he saith, *I wonder how a man so wise as the Admirall in worldly matters, could trust the King, but he paid well for it, for it cost him his life and many more.* This witness is true, and this thing well to be thought of by his Excellency, Lieut. Gen. *Cromwell*, and such men: for confident I am, were this King againe in his power, notwithstanding all his promises, protestations, oathes, he would not forget how they chased him in such a place, made him run for it at such a time; and they should be served just as the *Admiral of France* was, if he could not be revenged on them some other way.

George Buchanan (King *James* his own tutor) records a memorable story to shew the falshood and dissimulation of Princes in their treaties with the people. *Durstus the eleventh king of Scotland*, giving himself to all debaishnesse, first, banished his fathers

fathers friends from him, as the troublesome reproachers of his pleasures, and sending for the most vicious young men to be his companions, gave himself to luxury and venery; he prostituted his wife (daughter to the King of Britain) to his companions, and banished her. At last the Nobles conspiring against him, he awaking as it were out of sleep, considering that he should find no place of safety, neither at home nor abroad, being equally hated of strangers and subjects, thought best to counterfeit repentance of his former life, for so he might retain his Crown, and afflict punishments on his enemies. Wherefore recalling his wife from exile, he first of all endeavored to reconcile himself to the Britains: then calling the chiefest of his subjects to him, he ratified with a most solemn oath the oblivion of his former courses, he committed every most wicked person to prison, as if he reserved them for punishment, and religiously promised, that he would *do nothing hereafter, but by the advice of his Nobles*. When by these things he had given assurance of his sincere mind, he celebrated the agreement with pastimes, banquets, and other signes of public gladnesse: and now all mens minds being taken up with joy, he called most of the Nobility to a Supper; where, when he had shut them up (improvident and unarmed) in one room, sending in his assassins, he slew them every one. But what followed, this inhumane action so incensed and exasperated the rest with new flames of wrath and revenge, as (*ad minus portentum tollendum, conjurantibus*) all agreeing together to take away this detested monster; gathered a great army and slew him in battle with his wicked confederates.

The like falshood and dissimulation he sets down of James the Third King of Scotland, upon promise of reformation, the Nobles dismissed him, but he immediatly falsified his oath, & thought upon nothing but revenge, blood, and slaughter: whereupon, knowing him to be so false and perfidious, they would yeild to no terms of peace, but slew him in battle as a common enemy. I shall close this point with Bodins Observation, *If a Tyrant (saith he) be but shaken and not quite overthrown, he will commit horrible murders of the best Citizens, to satisfy and settle his tyranny: For a tyrant that hath esaped the hands of such as had conspired against him, he becomes mad and furious like a wild beast, that sees his own blood.* Lib. 6.

3. He makes much ado, about offering to God the blood of men as a sacrifice to appease his displeasure &c. This he calls an unparalleled wickedness.

Ans. As God maketh inquisition for blood, so the standing law is, He that sheddeth mans blood by man shall his blood be shed. 'Tis who so, whether Kings, Lords and Commons, the Commandement takes all in indiffinitely without respect of persons: Ye shall take no satisfaction for the life of a murderer which is guilty of death, but he shall surely be put to death, Numb.. 35. 31. Thine eye shall not pity him, but thou shalt put away the guilt of innocent blood from Israel, that it may go well with thee, Deut. 19. 13. Signifying that the rooting out of sinners turneth away Gods wrath from a people: according to Solomon, to do justice and judgement is more acceptable to the Lord than sacrifice, Prov. 21. 3. Thus Solomon took away the innocent blood which Joab shed from him and the house of his father. Thus the fierce wrath and anger of the Lord was turned away from Israel when they took the heads of the people and hanged them up before the Lord against the sun, Numb. 5. 4. Thus when seven of the sons of Saul were hanged up in Gibeath of Saul, after that the Lord was entreated for the land. 2 Sam. 21. 6. 14. Thus we see what Gods will is to appease wrath, and what the people of God have formerly done, and therein pleased the Lord. To say therefore as he doth, 'Tis such a sacrifice as was never yet by the darkest heathens invented. It shews his ignorance, not only in humane history, but his great contradiction and opposition to sacred truth, and his seeking to have the land remain defiled and full of blood and other pollutions, that God may yet plague us yet seven times more: Besides, there is nothing here propounded and desired by the Army, but what the Parliament hath resolved long since in the Declaration of August 18. 1642. in these positive words: The Lords and Commons Assembled in Parliament, do declare, That all such persons as shall upon any pretence whatsoever, assist His Majestie in this Warre with Horse, Arms, Plate, or Money are Traytors to His Majestie, the Parliament, and Kingdom, and shall be brought to condigne punishment for so great an Offence. And this they have since seconded in sundry other Declarations and Impeachments.

Fourthly. For that most notorious falshood of his (because his Excellency and the Council of

of war crave that justice may be done) to say, *It is the foule and black design of a few unbeleeving people.* I let it passe, the Lord I know will rebuke him for it, For as in this, so in all the rest he manifests himself to be one of that number, *who have said with our tongue, we will prevail, our lips are our own, who is Lord over us?* But for the persons upon whom you have laid so grievous an aspersi-
on, this is their comfort and rejoycing in the Lord, that as God knowes their hearts so he knowes the sincerity and singlenesse of them, that they look at his glory in seeking after the publick good. As the clouds can neither lessen the light of the sun, nor let the course thereof, because at the last they are scattered by the heat of the sun which shineth out most comfortable: So the innocency of their persons and justnesse of their cause, shall disperse and drive away all black clouds of calumniation, and *the mouth of him that speaketh lies shall be stopt.*

Now we come to the great work propounded in the Remon-
strance, *That that Capitall and grand author of our troubles, the Person of the King may be brought to Justice, for the Treason, Blood, and Mis-
chief, he is there guilty of.*

Here I find Mr. Sedgwick in his answer to say very little to it. But 1. *That no Law takes hold of the King.* 2. *The crown is his birth-right and inheritance:* for the rest it is either a justification of the King, as to be better then they: or bitter reproaches.

Because this is a high subject, and a businesse a foote, I shall therefore speak the more largely to it, not *de facto* but *de jure*: for the *Treason, Blood, &c.* laid to the King: I shall leave that charge to others more concerned in it, only I shall shew what justly and lawfully may be done in such a case.

And for the Readers clearer information and better understanding of the point, I shall here assert 5. things.

First, That there is a supream and Soveraigne power alwayes residing in the people above Kings.

Secondly, That all Kings, in all places, and at all times, have been, and still are subject to, and under Law.

Thirdly, That the people have the power, not onely to call their Kings to an account, but to censure and remove them for their tyranny and misgovernment.

Fourthly, That no nation is so tied to any form of civill go-

vernment, but that it is lawfull for the people to alter it into another form or kind upon occasion.

Fifthly, That amongst all the formes of civil Government, Aristocraticall or popular is best and safest for the people.

For the first, That every Magistrate, (be he Emperor or King) is inferior to the whole Kingdome and people, it may plainly be demonstrated.

1. Because he is not only their servant, but creature too, being originally created by, and for them: now as every creator is of greater power and authority then its creature, and every cause greater then its effect, so the authority and power of the people, which creates the Prince and his princely power, and enlargeth, limits, or restrains it, as there is cause, must needs be greater then the Prince or royall power. And though Principallities, (as generally considered) be of God, yet the constitution of Princes and their severall degrees of power are meerly from men: hence it is that *Peter* speaking of Kings and their supremacy, calst them *πρόσωπα καὶ ὁρίσματα ἀνθρώπων* every creature or ordinance of man. 1 Pet. 2. 13. because originally instituted, limited, and continued, by, and for the use and service of the people, whose creatures (as we said) ministers and servants they are, and ought to be, and from them receive their whole jurisdiction, power, and authority.

Besides howbeit principallities as generally considered, be indeed of God, yet the constitution of all Princes and their severall degrees of power are meerly from men: and this cannot with any shew of reason be denied. For if the regall authority of Princes were meerly from the Law of God and nature, it should be the same, and like it self in all Kingdomes; but tis not the same and like it self in all kingdomes, but as every people please and make a free choise of: nevertheless every form and kinde of government is equally lawfull, and good in it self (whether Monarchy, Aristocratie or Democratic) as all, on all sides doe acknowledge.

2ly. It is a thing neither probable nor credible, that any free people, when they voluntarily incorporated themselves into Kingdomes, of their own accord set up an elective King over them, that there was such stupidity and madnesse in them, as absolutely to resigne up their soveraign and popular power, au-
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thority & right to Kings and their heires for ever, & to give them an entire, full, and incontrollable supremacie over them, and so to make the creature inferior to the creator, the derivative greater then the primative, the servants more potent then themselves, and thus of free men to make themselves slaves, and for their more safety to be more enslaved. But the contrary appears by the peoples constant practise in all ages, as we shall manifest hereafter.

But admit (which with sence cannot be imagined) that such a thing had been so, yet the Fathers could not take in their posterity with them : neither oblige them any way in point of equity and conscience, to confirm and observe what they foolishly had done : but their children afterwards might lawfully ; yea, and ought to stand fast in the liberty which the law of God, nature and nations had made them free, and not be entangled in the slavish yoke and bondage of their fore-fathers. Hence *Amesius* in his *cases of Conscience*, lib 5. cap. 22. Qu. 2. resolves, that *all fatherly power is in procuring the good of children*, and shewes in the next cha. That liberty in naturall estimation is next to life it self, and of many preferred before it.

3. Common reason, Law, and experience manifests that the whole or greatest part in all publick or naturall bodies is of greater excellency, power, and jurisdiction then any one particular member. Thus in all corporations the court of Aldermen and common-council is of greater power then the *Major* alone, though the chief officer : so the whole bench then the Lord chief Justice ; and the whole Council then the President. And it is *Aristotles* expresse determination, *Polit. lib. 1. cap. 2. & lib. 3. cap. 8. & lib. 4. cap. 8.* what forme of government soever it be ; *whosoever seemes good to the major part of the people, that is more excellent, and to be preferred before any part or member thereof ; and that it is unfit the part should be before the whole : and he gives for it his reason thus, The people know what is profitable, necessary, and good for them, better then their Kings, who are their publick ministers : and thus concluding, itaque majorum rerum potestas jure populo tribuitur.* Therefore power of the greater things is by right the peoples.

4. This may also appear by the histories and records of all Kingdoms in the world, where Tyrants forc't not in by conquest and

and held not possession afterwards by force. In the Romane state both under their Kings and Emperors, the chief power in all things of highest concernment, was alwayes in the Senate and people; and so much Bodin grants, *That the people hadt be chief Sovereign power of enacting and confirming Lawes, the Senates decrees being of no validity, unlesse the people ratified them, and if any of their Kings, Consuls, Emperors, or Generals did things without their consent (as making war, concluding peace, &c.) it did not bind but was meerly voyd, unlesse the Senate and people together in a great assembly ratified the same by a publick Law.*

But to let passe forreign examples, our ancestors in this Kingdome, (which shewes what power was invested in the whole body of the people) have not only constrained our Kings by threats yea, force of armes to summon and continue Parliament, but likewise compelled them to give their royal assents to *Magna Charta, Charta de Foresta, Confirmatio Chartarum, Articuli super Chartas*, with sundry other publick statutes of right and justice for common good, and the subjects safety; and to ratify them with their hands, seales, oathes, proclamations, against their will and liking, which forced assents have been afterward justified, and held good in law, to bind these kings and their followers to the due observation thereof; for where the lawes are convenient, necessary, or essentiall for the Kingdomes welfare, the Subjects just liberty, and safety, and such as the King by duty and oath is bound to assent to, there if they compel the King to give his assent in case of denyal the assent is binding, and shall not be voyd by *Duresse*, because the King doth no more then he is obliged by oath law and duty to condescend unto, and the people (whose power is above him) may justly require.

5. And now in answer to Mr. Sedgwick affirming the *Crown to be the Kings birth-right*, a thing which I utterly deny, and have clear reasons against it.

For 1. Howsoever here in England the Crown hath gon often by discent, yet never was it granted absolute successive, and hereditary, but arbitrary and elective. Hence many of our Kings have come to the crown without any hereditary title by the peoples free election, and afterward obeyed as lawful Kings.

Thus Anno 975. after *Edgars* disease not *Ethelred* the heir to the former

former King but *Edward* crowned. So *Edmund* heir to King *Ethelred* refused, and *Canutus* a stranger elected, and crowned. So *Edmund* and *Alfred* both heirs, set aside, and *Harald* and *Hardiknute* elected and crowned Kings. I might also shew how upon the death of King *Harald* it was enacted by the English Nobility That none of the Danish blood should any more reign after them. So after *William the first*, not *Robert* the elder brother but *Rufus* the younger brother chosen: So after the deſeafe of *Richard the first*, *John Earl of Morton* was crowned and *Arthur* the right heir refused.

The like might be manifested of other nations how their kings did not reign heretarily and by ſucceſſion from father to ſonne, but thoſe were choſen Kings amongſt them which were held worthy, which election was made by the people, and revokable by them at any time: and whenſoever the Crown went now and then by ſucceſſion, it was by uſurpation rather than right. From humane Hiſtories we might come to the holy Scriptures, and ſhew that the original creation and conſtitution of the *Iſraelites* Kingdoms proceeded only from the authority and power of the people, and that ſolely by Divine permiſſion rather than inſtitution, as is apparant by *Deut. 11. 14, 15.*

And howſoever the Lord did ſometimes immediatly nominate the perſons of thoſe that ſhould reign over them, as *Saul*, *David*, *Jehu*, *Jeroboam* &c. yet the people did conſtantly confirme and make them Kings, and gave them their royal authority, none being made Kings by Divine appointment, but ſuch as they willingly accepted, approved, and confirmed to be kings; Gods previous deſignation being but a preparative to their voluntary and free election.

Moreover, It is very cleer that the kings of *Judah* and *Iſrael* were ſubordinate in power to the people, and not only counſelled but uſually over-ruled by them, in al matters of publick concernment; for though they asked a king, yet they reſerved ſufficient authority to themſelves, to reſtrain him, and to order and diſpoſe of the publick affairs as they thought good. But theſe things we have reſerved to a larger treatiſe.

2. Howſoever, *Bodin* contrary to *Ariſtotle*, *Tacitus*, *Lipſius*, *Toſo*, *Machavel*, *Kirchnerus* and the greateſt Polititions prefers ſucceſſion

succession before election of Kings and instanceth several nations to be heretary; yet this I say, *quo jure?* from the beginning it was not so, for every heretary Crown, is through custome not of right, howsoever people have let it passe, and admitted them in such a way, yet this hath been still in the people a free act, and it was in their liberty and power to have chosen any other.

3. Whereas some Kings require an oath of their subjects, that their heirs and successors shall enjoy the Crown after them, and the grounds of taking this oath, is, upon an opinion that the Crown goes by succession from father to child (so that in their understanding they give not any thing away from themselves, but only acknowledg what they conceive the person already is) Now this oath being given, and taken upon a false ground cannot bind in point of conscience, because if they knew it was not the others right they would not swear, neither meant they in the least to pass away any thing of their own right, for they thought it was the others properly before.

And here by the way, observe how vain and groundlesse that common question (*pro and con*) is amongst Politicians, Statists, Civilians, and some Divines, whether succession or election be the better, as if truly and rightly there were some such thing as succession, whereas it is neither so nor so. I confesse after a Kings deafe, the people may elect and crown the son and his sons son, but that any such thing can be claimed or chalenged as a *birth-right*, it is altogether untrue, there is no Kingdom in the world where the crown descends from the father to the son by any true and proper succession: the most that can be is not *simple* succession, but a succession limitable and conditional, that is a promise on the peoples part (for some considerable causes) that the son shall be crowned after the fathers death if he be fit to govern, and they see it is for their good. But that any people should absolutely bind themselves to have the son reign over them after the fathers death should he be a fool, a knave, a madman, a tyrant, either such a thing was never meant, or if it were ever so, such people therein shewed themselves either to be fools, knaves, madmen, or children, as doing a thing against all reason, all right, the manifest law of God, and very light of nature.

And this we further add, That whatsoever covenants or contracts

tracts have been between former Kings and our Ancestors about succession, and what acts of Parliament, laws, statutes they have made about it, they are no way binding to us, neither are we thereto related or concern'd in the same. If two men make a contract together, that the son of the one shall marry the others daughter, if these children be under age, they have liberty and power (especially their fathers being dead) to do as they think good being come to age, neither doth that pre-contract binde them, but they are still free, and may dispose of themselves as they see good, that is, they have liberty and power to marry any other if they see it more convenient and necessary. So I confidently affirm, whatsoever *Crown Contract* hath been made by our forefathers in our non-age, pitch where you will touching this succession, we have our liberty to take or refuse and are in point of conscience no more bound to crown the heir of *William the Conqueror, Henry the Eighth, James the Sixth of Scotland*, or this King *Charles* than any other man: but if we will (to be like other nations) still have a King, such then is our liberty and freedom now, that we may (yea and ought) to elect and crown such a one whom we shall find to be best qualified and fittest for us.

Now we come to the next general Head, That Kings are, and ought to be bound by Lawes, and are not to be exempted from them. I shall not at this time shew the flattery and vanity of some Sycophants and Parasites, who affirm, that *people may not prescribe any law to their Prince: that Kings are above law*: Now touching that senselesse distinction of *Bodin* and others, who hold that the Supream Magistrate, howsoever bound to the laws of God, of Nature, and Nations, yet are free from all Civil laws prescribed by themselves: nor that Court distinction between *Law directive, and coactive*, what Kings should doe, and what Kings may do: This I say with *Pareus, Superior Magistratus est subiectus legibus divinis & sue republicæ: The supream Magistrate is subject to Gods laws, and to the lawes of his own Common-wealth. Comment: in Rom. C. 13. dub. 6.* yea, more strictly obliged to observe his own lawes than subjects, and departing from the law becomes a Tyrant: and therefore the whole kingdom which is above the King, may not only bind him by laws, but question him,

him, and punish him for the breach of them : And this is a most certain truth (howsoever by some slavish pens opposed) that all Kings are so far bound to the laws and customs of their kingdoms, that if they violate and alter them at their pleasure, they may truly be called Tyrants according to *Aristotle*, and herein absolve their people from their allegiance which they have made unto them. Take for instance, the *united Netherland Provinces*, who for this very cause did declare *Philip King of Spain* to have fallen and cut himselfe off from the Seignorie of the *Netherlands*, and caused a new form of an oath to be drawn in manner of an abjuration of the King of *Spain*, every one swearing duty and obedience unto the Estates by the publick officers and magistrates of every town and province, the which thing was, and still is by all Protestants and reformed Churches justified and approved lawful.

I could here set down many such examples of other Nations, who by their lawes required their Kings to be subject to their lawes as well as any other, yea all nations (except where tyrants have reigned) have alwaies had some lawes to restrain their kings from excesses and abusive courses. Besides all good Emperours and Kings in all ages have professed and practised the same. *Trajan* acknowledged that the Prince *was not above law* : and giving the Sword to any Praetor or Commander, he would say, *Hoc gladio contra me utitur, si in rempublicam peccavero*. The like said *Theodosius*, and *Valentinian*, Emperours : *Digna est vox Majestate regnantis in legibus alligatum se Principem profiteri. lib. 4. cap. d. leg. prin.* So *Antiochus the Third*, King of *Asia*, is commended that he writ to all the Cities of his kingdom, *If there should be any thing in his letters which should seem contrary to the Lawes they should not obey them.* These men knew it is God only that may do in heaven and in earth what he pleaseth, as for man (whether Emperour or King) he is under law and therefore must do nothing but what is lawfull, just, and right.

And for more authentick prooffe we could produce the Kings of *Israel* and *Judah* who had no arbitrary power to do what they pleased nor exempted from laws, but inferiour too and obliged by them as well as subjects : this is evident by sundry impregnable texts, *Deut. 17. 18, 19. Josh. 1. 1. 8. 1 Sam. 8. 11. to 19. and 12.*

14, 15. 20 &c. Ezek. 46. 18. The Jewish Doctors from these words *I will visit their transgression with the rod of men, and with the stripes of the children of men.* 2 Sam. 7. write that it was a custom in Israel, *If their Kings transgressed against the law of the King, they were to be scourged for it.*

But the question is not so much, whether Kings are under law (for this now begins now to be generally granted) but the question is, If Kings do break law, what's their punishment, and who shall do it. The answer to this belongs properly to the next point yet something I shall say to it in this place. For my part I have not yet seen in any mans writing, new or old (though never so great a *Kingf-man*) any cleer and convincing reason, that seeing Kings are subject to laws, both the law of God and of men, wherefore they should have any immunity or be priviledged from punishment appointed by law to such and such offences more than other men. Plainly thus, If King or Prince be a Murderer, a Traytor, a Pirate, an Adulterer, perjured &c. why the punishment due to other murderers, traytors &c. and for the like crimes inflicted upon them should not be executed upon the other, King, or Prince, what the custom hath been, or what partial laws foolish & ignorant men have made, I count as nothing let reason, justice, & Divine precepts be considered. Hence let us take light and information. First, as for the law of God, it goes generally and takes all in, *quisquis, siquis quicumque: whosoever, if any man, what man soever*, if a murderer, an adulterer &c. let him die the death: Kings and Princes are not here exempted.

And Secondly, In the point of Justice, 'tis without any dispute. For *δικαιοσύνη* is Justice of *δικαιο* to part, or divide in two. Hence *δικαστής* a Judge, (as it were *δικαστής*) because he cuts a thing in two equal parts. So in the definition, Justice is *Perpetua constansque voluntas ius suam unicuique tribuens*. And for distributive justice which according to Logicians is, either rewarding or punishing this later Judicatory Justice is, *qua Pænis debitas equalitur unicuique distribuit*, which distributeth due Punishment equally to every one. Again, If the offender because he is great, (as a king or prince) should therefore be spared, it were directly to depart from Justice both in propriety of speech & true definition *ἀποβω-πομπή* that is a right judgment not respecting the person, to wit for

for his greatnesse, power, place, wealth &c.

Thirdly, For Reasons I have this to say, Wherefore Kings should be punished according to law if not more yet as much as other men. 1. Because by their ill example they do more hurt than other men. 2. Their sins do more provoke God and draw down Divine wrath upon a nation and therefore there is the greater reason that the Land should be purged of such pollutions. 3. The taking of this course would be very much for the publick good and safety: for if princes knew they should be punished as other men for their crimes according to law, they would be as careful as other men to observe and keep the same.

Oderunt peccare mali formidine pœne.

4. The practise of this would be a very helpfull means to save their souls; for whence comes it to pass, that they care not what they doe, but because whatsoever they doe, they know no man will punish them for it.

5. If this course were taken, there would not be such horrid and execrable wayes used to get Crowns, as poysoning and murdering of fathers, brethren, &c. but conscience then, and a desire to do good, would be the chiefest motives leading men therunto.

6. In constitution of a Prince, whatsoever is confirmed upon a man in respect of office and authority, it doth not any way make a change upon his Person, neither puts him at any distance touching subjection to the Law more then he was before; this relates only to a qualification, that is, the people judging him to be fit, he is invested with a power and right to administer justice; but for his personall estate that remaines the same as formerly, neither is he by this exempted from Law either directive or co-active, more then when a man is made a Judge, Justice of peace, or the like.

In this case, Civil Magistrates, and Church officers are alike; what office or function soever a man hath in the Church of God, he is still under the power of the Church, and for his person, the Church-censure can reach him still as it did before. For the institution of Pastors, Teachers, or Elders, doth not in the least exempt or privilege such ecclesiasticall officers, from the highest censure of the Church more then any other member, if there be
just

just cause to proceed against them. And there is something to this purpose in the *Popish Cannon Law*, *how in case of heresie the Pope ceaseth ipso facto to be Pope, looseth his spirituall jurisdiction and authority, and deserveth justly to be really deposed.* Can. si. papa 40. *Carer.* Azorius Antonine 3. part: shewing that the office of a Pope adds nothing to the person of the man, for howsoever he is above the rest for his place, yet he is still subject to the Law, and under censure, yea, to be deprived of jurisdiction and Papacie, in case he prove an heretick.

For conclusion then, this I positively affirm, and will stand to it, *Where Kings are under Law, and receive their Crownes from the people upon protestation and oath to keep the Laws, and where the supream Sovereign power of a nation is invested in the Senate and people, there Kings for their Tyranny and misgovernment may be convented, judged, and punished: neither are they more exempted from the highest civil punishment then Ecclesiasticall officers are from the highest Church-censure, their persons are still in the same consideration as other mens persons are, and therefore for their transgressions (as other men) may be judged and punished.*

Now to come to the third particular, which is, *That the people have power not only to convent, but to censure, depose, and punish their Kings for their Tyranny and misgovernment.* For the confirmation of this, I shall desire the Reader to take notice: 1. What reasons there are for it. 2. What Law. 3. What Scripture proof. 4. What preidents and examples both of other nations, and Kingdomes, as likewise of our own. 5. And lastly, what the judgment is of learned men touching this thing.

Reas. 1. It is an undoubted rule of divinity and policie, that it is more expedient that one man die (though a Prince or King) then the whole nation should perish. *John 11. 50. & 18. 14.* If the right eye, or right hand offend, it must be pluckt out and cut off: as in the naturall body if a member be so corrupt and putrified, that unlesse it be taken away the whole body is in danger to perish, in such a case for prevention and health sake, every one will allow the cutting it off: so in the politick body, when the safety of the whole lies in the removing of one or more unsound and bad members, it must be don, and it is necessary it should be so: for it is a *maxime in Philosophy*, that *totum non subicitur parti, sed*

pars toti ; so again, *totum non regitur motu partis, sed pars totius*, to which that is agreeable in the Poet :

— *immedicabile vulnus*

En se recidendum est, ne pars sincera trahetur.

Reasf. 2. Kings being the people officers, ministers, creatures (as we said) it must needs follow that they are responsible to their masters and makers, and being found unfaithfull stewards, they have power to displace them of their trust and office. If the keeping of a city or castle, be committed to a man, and he betrays the same to the enemy, or dismantles the wals and fortifications, to expose it unto danger, is it questionable in such a case, whether the State putting him into that trust, may not call him to an account, and punish him justly for it?

Reasf. 3. When two men contract and covenant together upon certain conditions and termes, if one party break the agreement, the other is set free, and no further bound to him either in point of Law or conscience. When Kings break their coronation oaths and promises, keep not the conditions and termes upon which they were elected and crowned, but become tyrants, the bond and knot between subjects and them is essentially broken, neither is there any tribute, duty, custome, or alleagance, &c. from the people any further due unto them.

I know no faster bond or knot between any two parties, then man and wife; the relation between Kings and subjects I am sure is not neerer, neverthelesse all grant *adulterium etiam vinculum ipsum matrimonii solvit*, adultery in either person breaks even that very bond and knot of marriage: why therefore a subject breaking his covenant with the King, in being a traitor, should be punished for it, and the King breaking his covenant with the people in proving a tyrant or traitor to the people should not be punished likewise: I am sure there is no man living able to give a just reason for it.

Reasf. 4. If men by Law may be punished; yea, and great punishment is inflicted upon them, who are onely as instruments used by Princes, to accomplish their wicked designs and meerely act to please them; surely it is against justice, reason, and all conscience, that the first mover and grand author should escape unpunished; Gods example teacheth otherwise, who in all ages hath

hath punished the author of sinne more severely and extreemly then the instrument; we see many times the adulterous mother punished for her whoredome, yet the bastard spared, but that the bastard should suffer and the mother escape it is an example unheard of.

Reas. 5. Howsoever men may remit the wrong or injury, as it is in reference to themselves and their own interest, nevertheless as the transgression respecteth Gods Law, and so far as God calls for judgment and punishment, it is not in their power to spare or pardon, though they may doe with their own what they will, yet what is the Lords they may not alter, mitigate, qualitie, &c. but they ought to proceed according to the directions and rules which he hath prescribed to them, I say, without addition, or diminition, strictly, punctually and precisely. I shall end this point with the words of Bodin: *I am of opinion (saith he) that no Sovereign Prince, neither yet any man alive can pardon the punishment due unto the offence which is by the Law of God death, no more then he can dispense with the Law of God, whereunto he is himself subject: And if it be so, that the Magistrate deserve capitall punishment, which dispenseth with the Law of his King, how shall it be lawfull for a Sovereign Prince to dispense with his subjects from the Law of God? And further, if the Prince himself cannot give away the least civil interest of his subjects, or pardon the wrong don to another man, how can he pardon the wrong don unto ALMIGHTY GOD, or murder wilfully committed, which by the Law is death, for all the pardon he can give. vide lib. 1. de Reip. cap. 10.*

Secondly, As for Lawyers law, it is just like Mr. William Prin, it speaks every thing, and any thing, and nothing: Thus their law and he, are like the *Dutch mans hose*; you may wear them how you will, put them up or down, for they are made to serve both wayes: but for that whirligig and *busie body* I do but mention him by the way, for there is an *Independant piece* comming forth to shew his lightnesse, contradiction, extreme pride and malice.

What punishment by law is due unto a Traytor, it is so obvious and well known, as to cite Statutes for it, would be, but as a vain repetition: Now the Law cleerly resolves 28. Hen. 8. C. 7 That. *if the King become an open enemy to the kingdom and subjects, to*

wast or ruin them, or shall seek to betray them to a ferraign nation he becomes a traytor to the realm, and hereupon doth forfeit his very title to the Crown. *Bracton saith the King, is the higbest Justiticiar in the kingdom: Licet in justitia recipienda minimo de regno suo comparitur, but as low as any in receiving justice. lib. 3. cap. 9. fol. 167. &c.* This indeed is law, for what is law (*νόμος*) according to the strict Etimologie a proper signification, but an equal distributing to every one his own, whether it be reward or punishment; and therefore whensoever any thing hath been enacted to priviledge kings and princes from personal punishment, in case they transgressed against God and men, and should prove Tyrants, Traytors, Murderers, Pirates, Witches and what not, I do avouch, it was no law, to speak truly and properly, it was nor *νόμος* but *ανόμος* as contrary to the law of God, and nature as light is to darknesse; and these were right *Antinomians*, as oppoling and denying law to establish their own wicked and lawlesse decree: Law, is *ratio naturalis*, natural reason, but it is no principle in nature, to punish the lesser, theft, murder, treason, tyranny &c. and spare the greater thieves, murderers, &c. to execute the bastard and quit the mother as we said before.

Again, 'Tis without dispute, when Princes prove Tyrants, their deposition is justifiable by law. Now to know a Tyrant King *James* describes him thus: *A King governing in a settled kingdom ceaseth to be a King and degenerates into a Tyrant so soon as hee serves to rule by his own laws.* If this be true, (as it is most true:) then it is the highest degree of Tyranny, condemned and abhorred by God and all good men, when the King begins to invade his subjects persons, rights, liberties &c. to set up an arbitrary power imposeth unlawful taxes, raises forces, plunders wasteth and spoils his kingdom, imprisons, kills, and banishesth his most faithful & best people in an hostile and wrathful manner, whom he ought to protect and rule in peace: and whether this King have not thus done, even our enemies themselves being judges?

There is one thing remarkable in the aforesaid speech, where he saies, *He ceaseth to be a King.* Hence I gather, that a King degenerating into a Tyrant, hath no benefit, nor any thing to help himself in point of law, by any Statute containing an immunity or exemption of the Kings person from punishment, as death it
self:

self: for whatsoever is provided in such a case it is only in reference to a King, but when *he ceaseth to be a King*, he loseth the benefit of all such *acts of Parliament*, neither is there any Statute broken if he personally suffer for his crimes.

Thirdly, For Scripture proof or presidents, *Zuinglius* positively affirms, that the Israelites might not only resist but also depose their kings for wickednes & idolatrie, yea, that al the people were justly punished by the Lord because they removed not their wicked Kings out of their places, and brings sundry instances for it. *Explinat. Ant. 2.* That God did punish the people for their kings enormities, tis evident by *Jer. 15. 1, 2, 3, 4. 2 King. 21. 11, 12. & Chap. 23. 26. & 24. 3.* and the history of the Kings and Chronicles in sundry other places clearly shew so much: the which thing surely God in justice would not have done, had not the people power to hinder, censure and depose them for their sins.

It is said of *Amaziah King of Judah, 2 King. 14. 19.* That they made a conspiracie against him in Jerusalem and he fled to Lachish, but they sent after him to Lachish and slew him there: not privately but openly, as acted by publick authority for his great impiety, as having broken his oath and covenant; whereupon we read not of any complaint, inquisition proceeding or punishment inflicted on those that slew him after his death, either by the people or his children as there was upon those that slew king *Ammon*, but being slaine, they (to wit the persons who had put him to death) brought him on horses, and he was buried in Jerusalem, and all the people of Judah made *Ahaziah King in his stead.* Which plainly shews that what was formerly done by the greater part of the States at Jerusalem was afterwards confirmed by common consent, and executed by command of those which might lawfully do it.

Fourthly, For examples, all histories are full, nothing more frequent than to read, how people having the supream power would judiciously convent, censure, depose, yea and judge their kings to death for their evil and wicked courses. Thus amongst the *Romans*, the Senate and people together proceeded against *Nero, Julianus, Vitellius, Maximinus, Heliogabulus &c.* I speak not of *Traquin* the proud expelled the kingdome by the people. So other Emperours likewise, being found unfit & unable to govern the kingdom, have been deposed and others e-

lected and crowned in their stead : as *Childeriek*, *Charles the third*, *Justinus the second*, *Wenceslaus*, all put off: and *Pepin*, *Arnolpb*, *Tiberius*, and *Rupert Count Palatine of Rhine* chosen and set in the Empire. The *Cumean State* usually arraigned and punished their Kings judicially if they saw cause.

Thus the *French* by authority of a publick Council & through the prudent care of the officers of the Realm, deposed *Childerick the first*, *Sigebert*, *Theodorick*, and *Childerick the third*: So *Gyl*, for his grievous taxes and other miscarriages they chased into *Soysons*: *Theodoricus* because he vexed and oppressed the people, was by the authority of the State deprived of all dignity.

Touching the Kings of *Spain*, we shall finde in Histories and good Authors, that frequently for their tyranny and misgovernment they were deposed by their subjects: as *Theodiscle* the tenth, *Vitiz*, and other *Gotish Kings*, as infamous monsters were chased from their thrones. So *Don Pedro the first*, *Ordogno*, *Alphonso* the great *Astronomer*, kings of *Castile* for their cruelties, murders, and treacheries, all rejected and deprived of their Realms, *Ramir of Leon* and *Garcia King of Galicia* both deposed for their vicious and base doings.

In *Hungaria*, *Peter the second*, and *Solomon the first* (to omit some others) for their great insolencies, and injustice were both deposed, the first afterwards banished, and the other kept in prison till he died. So the *Bobemians* deposed and banished *Boleslaus*, *Rufus*, *Berzinogius*, *Sobeislaus*, *Vladislaus*: and twice imprisoned *Wenceslaus* for his drunkenness, negligence, and cruelty.

In *Poland* the people have deposed imprisoned or expelled out of the kingdom many of their Kings for their oppressions, and injustice, as (amongst others) *Miesco* their second King, *Boleslaus* his son, *Myoslaus*, *Henrie* &c. Neither have the *Swedish Kings* been used otherwise, but for their cruelty, treachery, and tyranny have been thrust out of their thrones and Realm by the people, as *Halsten*, *Aminander*, *Burgerius*, *Magnus*, *Henry*, *Christierne the first and second*, and others elected and crowned in their stead.

So in *Denmark*, *Humbus*, *Ericus*, *Christierne*, father and son, censured and deposed by the State for their licentiousness and misgovernment: Not to mention *Canutus*, *Magnus*, *Suano*, put

to death by the people. I passe over *Canades* King of *Persia*, *Dionysius* the younger King of *Sicile*, *Timocrates* of *Cyrene*: *Andronicus* Emperour of *Constantinople* by the people rejected upon just cause.

For *Scotland*, If *George Bucman* and others of their own Historians write truth as there hath seldom ever bin good King thereof, so very few of them (begin with this mans father and so go up) that ever died an natural death. But touching the point in hand: how frequently the Parliaments and Nobles there have questioned their Kings, imprisoned, deposed, yea judicially censured them, for their tyrannies, oppressions, whoredoms, murders, falshood and evil administration; you may see at large in the aforesaid *Bucman*: some I have taken out of him: as *Durflus* and his sons, so *Dardan*, *Luctack*, *Conarus*, *Ramack*, *Fercubard*, *Euginius*, *Constantine*, *Ethus*, *Donald*, *Lugrac*, *Algal*, *Edward*, *Baliol*, *James the third*: all these have been sentenced & rejected. I mention not such (though he doth many) whom the common people for their intollerable basenes murdered and put to death. To which I might adde, this mans Grandmother, whom they imprisoned and caused to abjure and resign her Interest in the Crown and kingdom to her Infant son; and at last was solemnly arraigned and condemned to death by the Parliament of *England* and beheaded at *Fatheringham* Castle, all which proceedings against her, as her Deposition, Imprisonment, and Execution hath hitherto been justified as lawful.

To come now to our own nation, many examples we have upon record in our Chronicles concerning the matter in hand: I shall at this time but only touch things in a brief way: King *Vortigen* after six years raig for his negligence and evil government was deposed from his crown by his subjects, and his son *Vortimer* chosen and crowned in his stead. *Speed Chron. pag. 207. 266. 267.* *Sigebert* King of the *West-Saxons* using exactions and cruelties upon his subjects was put by his place and *Kenwelse* made King in his stead. *Speed hist. pag. 229.* So *Ofred* King of *Northumberland* for his ill government was expelled by his subjects and deprived of all Kingly authority. *Speed pag. 245. 246.* *Ethelred* (the son of *Mollo*) so far offended his subjects that they tooke up armes against him and slew him at *Cobre*. *Beornerd* King of *Mercia*, because

governed the people, not by just Laws, but by Tyranny, was expelled the kingdom and *Offa* chosen and crowned. *Mat. Wesim. pa. 275.* The like was *Edwins* case King of *Mercia* and *Northumberland*, for his misgovernment, tyranny and oppression, and following vaine, base, and wicked Councillors was removed from all kingly dignity, in whose place *Edgar* was elected King.

I might have mentioned *Archigallo* one of our ancient British Kings in times of Gentilisme, for some misorders was deposed by the people, when he had reigned almost five yeers, and his brother *Elidurus* chosen in his room. So *Emerian* another old British King deprived of all kingly honor and dignity, and *Tewello* promoted to the crown. *Fabian par. 2. chap. 49. p. 30. 31. & chap. 46. p. 34.*

Since the conquest (as they call it) King *John* disavowed by his Lords and Commons, for wasting, burning, and spoiling the kingdom like an enemy, electing *Lewes* of France for their King. *Speed p. 585.* *Edward the second* for his misgovernment pardoned, and *Edward* his son elected and crowned. *Walsing. hist. p. 390.* Again Anno 1399. King *Richard the second* for sundry misdemeanors objected against him in 32 Articles in Parliament and breach of his coronation oath, was judicially deposed, and *Henry the fourth* elected and crowned in his stead. So in Anno 1462. King *Henry the sixth* Queen *Margaret* and *Edward* their son by Parliament disinherited of their right to the crown and *Edward the fourth* made king.

Here I shall end this point with a few proposals to the Reader. 1. Thou mayest observe when a King proves a Tyrant it is the peoples own fault, if they relieve not themselves, and recover their ancient rights and liberties. 2. Note, what mischiefs and miseries, this Monarchy and King-craft brings with it, for it is no small disturbance and trouble to a nation to be forced to take up armes against a tyrant, and bring him to punishment. 3. (And mark it wel) according to the fact, so tyrants have been punished more or lesse: that saying in former times hath been held for a maxime, *fiat justitia, mundum ruat.* 4. Here also thou mayst observe, how false to their trust, & prejudicial to the kingdom, the late Treaty was, for what men, unlesse ignorant in State matters, dull of action, slavishly minded, fearful & unbelievers, or such as have cozened and cheated the countrey, and so made account by
a gene-

a generall act of indemnity to escape punishment (*hanging I should have said*) would ever have moved in such a way, as being free from a tyrant (with great expense, and much pretious blood) would seek to set him up again, and so by degrees to be in greater slavery then before.

Lastly, For the opinion of learned men whether *Papists*, *Lutherans* or *Calvinists* they do unanimously hold that *Kings* for their tyranny and misgovernment may be censured and deposed by the people, because I have proposed to my self to be brieft, I shall onely mention a person or two. There is a book entituled *de Rege & Regis Institutione* written by one *Joannes Mariana* a *Je- suite*, wherein I find his words thus, *A Tyrannicall King continuing incorrigible after publick admonitions of the whole State, if there be no hopes of amendment, may not only be deposed, but put to death and murdered by the whole State, or any particular persons by their appointment; yea, without it, if he be declared a publick enemy by the whole State, and in case the whole State cannot publickly assemble by reason of such a Princes known notorious Tyranny, then in such a case it is lawfull for any private man to murder him to free the countrey and Kingdom from destruction.* Lib. 1. c. 9. Howsoever I shall not stand to justify all that he sayes, yet his book was dedicated to *Philip the third King of Spain*, and published by his speciall priviledge afterward reprinted at *Mentz* in *Germany*, *Cum privilegio sacre Cesarie Majestatis, & permissa Superiorem.* *Daneus* allows, not only subjects actual resistance, but deprivation of *Kings*, where princes set themselves to subvert Religion, Laws, Liberties. *Polit. Chryst. lib. 3. cap. 6.* So *Zuinglius*, *When princes shall deal perfideously and contrary to the rules of Christ, they may be deposed by the consent & suffrages of the whole, or at least the greatest part of the people, God helping them therein.* *Explin. Art. 42.* And howsoever *Calvin* pleads as much as a man can for Tyrants and wicked Magistrates, yet thus he saith, *I alwaies speak of private men, for if there be any popular Magistrates constituted in the behalf of the people to restrain the lusts of Kings, (such as heretofore were the Ephori who were opposed to the Lacedemonian Kings, or Tribunes of the people against the Roman Senate, or the Demarchi against the Athenian Senate, the which power peradventure as things are now, the free Estates in all kingdoms enjoy when they assemble.) I am so far from inhibiting them to withstand, the raging licentiousness of kings, ac-*
cording

according to their duty, that if they connive and wink at Kings outrageously encroaching upon, and insulting over the poor communality, I shall affirm that their dissimulation is not without wicked breach of faith, because they deceitfully betray the liberty of the people, of whom they know themselves to be appointed protectors by the Ordinance of God. Instit. lib. 4. c. 20. Sect. 31.

Fourthly, That no Nation is so strictly tied to any form of Government or Law, but it is lawfull for the people to alter the same into any other form or kind upon occasion. We prove, and for the first thus.

1. Because all formes of Government were ordained for the peoples welfare, protection peace, &c. and therefore in case any one becomes incompatible or inconsistent with the publick safety, it may be changed without injustice, and grounded upon that first and chief Law of all common-wealths, *Salus Populi suprema Lex esto*, the safety of the People let that be the last Law; grounded also upon that saying of Christ, *Mark 2. 27. The sabbath was made for man, and not man for the sabbath*. Whence I reason, look as man was before the sabbath, and the day made as serving to the preservation and safety of him, and so his life to be preserved by omitting the observation of the sabbath. So man being before the Government, and Government ordained for his safety, there is no form of Government, but he may omit the use of it, if it be for his peace, profit and welfare.

2. It is a received principle of nature and reason, *eadem modo quid constituitur, dissolvitur*, in what manner a thing is constituted, it may be dissolved: Again, *Omnia quæ jure contrahuntur contrario jure pereunt*. The Apostle Peter (as we have already noted) calls kings and their supreamacy, a humane creature or ordinance of man, because the same took its original and rise from men, and therefore that form of Government is changable and revocable as the people (whose creature the form is) shall see reason and cause for it. As the potter hath power over his pots, and the gold-smith may alter and change his vessels and cups from one form to another: so here.

3. Howsoever all Government in general be of God, yet the kinds of it are left arbitrary to mens institution and free election: here I say people have liberty, to take or leave, as to lay aside one form and establish another, when they see it is more to the preservation

vation of humane society, and the advancement of Gods glory. Thus *Aristotle* and all Politicians hold, all forms of Government are changeable. *Lambertus Danaus Polit. Christ. l. 3. c. 6. pag. 217.* speaks thus, When the Lawes of a Kingdom or Common-wealth are not observed, but manifestly and obstinately violated by that Magistrate, to whom and whose family the supream Government is granted under certain conditions, I say, that Kingdom or Government so granted and conferred on conditions, may by all godly and Christian people with a safe conscience be taken from him, and another form of Government erected by a publick Edict of the States gathered together, if the safety of the Common-wealth shall so require. so be.

4. This is manifest by the diverse alterations of the Monarchy in this kingdom, which hath been sometime divided into seven, sometimes into five, otherwhile into three or two kingdoms, and at last all reduced into one. So by the great changes and alterations which have been made in forreign Realms: as sometimes Monarchy quite abolished and changed into Aristocraticall or popular estate. Thus the *Switzers* and *Grisons* departed from the *Romane Empire*, and became 18. common-wealths, every one holding their estate (divided from other) in Sovereignty. The *Venetian Common-wealth* was at the beginning a Monarchy, afterward changed into a popular Estate, and now by little and little changed into Aristocratitall, yet so tacitly, in such a quiet sort that the change can hardly be perceived. So the *Thessalians*, and people of *Sicile* threw of Monarchy, and had a Popular State. The *Samians*, *Corcyreans*, *Rhodians*, *Cnidians*, and almost all the common-wealths of Greece after the victory of *Lysander* were from Monarchy changed into Aristocracies.

So again some nations have changed Aristocraticall into popular government; as the *Sabeans*, *Sabirites*, *Trezenians*, *Amphilolits*, *Chalcidians*, *Thurians*, *Chions*, the *Argives*, the people of *Delphos*, *Tarentum*, many more which I omit.

And from Popular some have changed into Aristocratie, as the *Venetians*, *Syracusians*, *Lacedemonians*, *Thebans*, *Heracleans*, *Cumeans*, *Megarenses*, the *Luques*, *Rhaguses*, *Genes*, and other.

Sometimes also the frame of Aristocratical government hath been altered into Monarchy, and it is well to be noted, what *Bodin* notes as to be the cause and reason of such a change, namely,

1.

conquest

conquest and Tyranny : and sets down many examples for it. *Lib. 4, de rep. c. 1.* The Jewes indeed desired such a thing, but how extremely they offended God therein, the sacred history shews, who for asking a King gave them a King in his wrath. And thus much for the first particular. Now we come to the other, viz. *That such Lawes and ancient customes as people find to be hurtfull, unprofitable or inconvenient, they may remove.*

For 1. Many things which were convenient and necessary in former times, and therefore established in after ages are found unuseful, because there is not the same reason and cause for them as then there was.

2. There is no man of such parts and gifts, or so qualified, as to foresee in all things, what will be safest and best for the generations after him; and therefore as many things must be left to every age, so the people in every age must look to their own safety and preservation, as to have such Laws in use, as are for the present publick good, and what is otherwise to take off the force and stop the execution of them.

3. Seeing the will of man (and that often) without reason, is the ground of Law, according to his saying :

Sic volo, sic jubeo, stat pro ratione voluntas.

It is therefore the more necessary to consider what the Laws are, and how they are grounded; for we know, mans will is full of darknesse, deceit, self-end, and what pleaseth one, is to another hurtfull and unprofitable.

4. What skilfull and prudent phisicians will not change their way and course of physick, if they see the same proves dangerous and destructive to their patients, and follow some other & better rules of art. *Statesmen* are the peoples phisicians, and therefore they ought to lay aside all such old Laws & customs as are unprofitable and unusefull, and ordain wholesome and good ones in the room thereof.

5. We see that men change in condition, and one age is not like another: our ancestors some generations past, were so and so, but their posterity now are otherwise in condition, and therefore great care should be taken, that we have such Laws, as are best and fittest for the time; and to say the truth, herein consisteth much true policy: men chuse not a garment by the largenes, neither

neither of the fineness of the cloath, but by the fitnessse, and how well it will serve the person that must wear it : I do take notice what a number there are, now (*Taylor-like*) in London and thereabout, making garments for the Nation and to clothe the people with new lawes ; now howsoever I professe not my selfe to be one of that trade, yet I wish wel to the work and humbly desire, that they do not so much mind largnesse & finenesse, as to have things fit and to come well home to the Nation, in a good accommodation, and a general satisfaction.

6. Howsoever it cannot be denied, but we have many good laws amongst us, neverthelesse, such is our burden and misery, that they are like good mettel in a pot or vessel, so covered over with drosse and scum as the beauty and brightnesse of them shines not forth : Now here is *State wisdom* which discovers a man to be vers'd in *Politicks*, who studieth and labours how to remove the drosse, rather than promiscuously and without any destination or difference to throw al away, as the scum so the precious and pure silver also. *Who so breaketh a hedge, a serpent shall bite him.* I know it is an ancient maxime of some Politicians, *That we must not change any thing in the Laws of a Common-wealth which hath long maintained it self in a good estate whatsoever apparent profit may be thereby pretended.* Again, *Legum mutatio omnium erat periculosa.* But I have formerly proved it lawful, yea necessary to alter and change the laws of a kingdom. Yet so, as I shall desire all such as are specially concerned in this great work, to observe these cautions or rules.

1. That it be done with mature deliberation, good forethoughts, not hand over head, as to thrust in mens sudden and present conceits. Men in their sleep, imagine they eat, drink, walk &c. and question not but it is all real and true : but being awake they perceive it was only a dream. It is not enough that a man is confident, and perswades himself it is so, but it is needful to enquire whether it be sleeping or waking, examine well how it is bottomed and grounded. My *Antagonist* (I dare say) thinks he prophesieth right things, whereas poor man, he only dreams, and when the Lord shall awake him of this sleep he will see and confesse so much.

2. Whatsoever law or custom shall be taken away, yet it must

not be, till after due examination, and finding upon proof sufficient cause and reason for it. Otherwise it may happen, as it did to *Alexander*, killing *Parmenio* in haste, afterwards he repented and found the misse of him.

3. It must be minded, that the publick Interest be especially provided for, and not to profit a few to the prejudice of many.

4. It is a principal maxime in State-policy, when any law or custom is to be abrogated, To consider how far it is hurtful, and in what regard and what sense or liking the people have thereof, and so to proceed either speedily, or to come thereunto by little and little without forcing of any thing. Physicians observe, that violent medicines in some cases raises up the humors and disperse h them so through the whol body, as the party becomes more distempered, and made the more uncapeable of health, and so the lesse hope of recovery : Nevertheless, in some other cases, quick and strong phisick doth wel and safe. *Gal. de simp. me. facult. c. 15.*

5. This also must be looked to, What shall be next and come into the place, when such and such things shall be taken away : a man may pull down both sides of a house, who hath not the skill and art to lay one stone orderly and as it should be to build a new and better. I do ingeniously professe there are many thnigs yet in Church and Common-wealth which I wish were taken away, and to me they do appear faulty : but (*hic labor, hoc opus*) if they were removed, what should come in their room ? that needs some consideration, both what, and how ? In *The Peoples Agreement*, I observe they are much for pulling downe, and it is soon said there needs not many heads, or hands for such work : now I could heartily wish, that these men or some other, would satisfie the Land, if every particular by the Parliament should be granted, how we might have their rooms and places fill'd again. It is an easie thing to tell where the sore is, and to shew it, but to make a salve to heal it is more difficult.

6. I do find in sundry Histories, when the laws and customs of a nation hath been changed, howsoever the thing was good in it self, and some men had therein what they desired, yet afterwards great troubles and miseries have ensued, because the greater part saw no ground or cause of such changes, neither apprehended the benefit and usefulness thereof. And therefore it

is the judgment of the wisest Politicians, whensoever a State intends to alter the form of Government or Laws, to let the people see beforehand, upon what ground and just cause they will do it, and what conveniency, safety, and profit the publick shall have thereby. This will not only to take with the people, as to make them willing and desirous of the thing, but to contribute to the work what they are able that it may be well effected. Now to the last point, what form of Government is best.

This is a great question among Politicians, largely debated, and diverse men are diversly minded; for my own judgement herein it is this, *Monarchie is the worst*. And my Reasons for it are these :

1. Because a great Part of the land is unnecessarily detained, and kept away from the publick use and profit, of the people, to maintain an *unuseful creature*. What a number of *Courts, Gallies, Mannours, Parks, Forrests* besides other Rents, Revenues, Customs &c. there goes to maintain this *King-skip*, 'tis hardly credible; and how it is employed it's worth the noting. Now what more absurd and inconsiderate than for a people to be at such unreasonable expence and charge to keep one of whom they have no need or use at all, but can do much better without him. We read how the Prince of *Orange* gave money to one *Bellazar Gerard* (who named himself *Frances Guyon*) to buy him provision, and therewith he bought pistols, powder, and shot and killed the prince. And what else do Kings many times with the great treasury allowed them by their subjects, but procure ammunition & raise up forces to murder and destroy them.

The children also of Kings, are no small burden and unnecessary charge to a nation, considering their excessive riot, and expences. We speak not of doweries and other portions: and what serve they for, or what profit have the people by them? the truth is, there is little or no good expected, if they prove not a curse and plague to the kingdom, we think it is well and take it as a great mercy: Would it not therefore be better, what is needlessly wasted on them to be converted to some pious and charitable uses.

3. Look upon *Monarchie* and compare them with other forms of government, and this you shall certainly find, that whensoever

foever corruptions and abuses break forth in a State they are not so easily, suddenly, and thorowly suppressed in the former as in the latter : and no marvail : for 1. As they have their original and rise usually from the Court, so the King will labour what he can to uphold and defend the same. Hence it comes to passe (as many sad examples in this land shew) that enormities, have so long continued and grown to such a height as the people have been forced to make war against the Prince, and with the losse of much blood and other charges to reform the same which otherwise would never have been don. But where there is a *free State* you have no such inconvenience ; neither indeed are such abuses and corruptions ever seen, but if they did appear the matter would not be so difficult to suppress them there. 2. Put case the King hath no hand in these abuses (which would be a strange thing) yet are they not easily reformed, because what he heares and sees it is by other mens ears : whereas in the other Government, magistrates are abroad to see and hear what is amisse with their own eyes and ears.

4. If things be compared together, this we shall find in a Monarchy, the officers and ministers of State are usually (as the King) corrupt men, abusers oppressors of the people, and little or no help is to be had of relief and satisfaction. But in the other Government, places are not open for such men, or should they once appear to be such, the people know a way soon to right themselves. Besides where the people chuse their own Magistrates they must needs be the best: For Princes do not use to put men into office so much for the publick good, as how to carry forth their own private interest.

5. This misery and mischief ordinarily goes along with Monarchies a slaughtering and murdering of the people by some devillish plot or other, pressing them forth to some unnecessary war, to satisfy their lust and pride, or imposing intollerable taxes upon them, having some treacherous designe in hand: But in a free State theres no fear of such things neither indeed, can they happen.

7. If one form of Government may be held better then another for Religion and the gospels sake : then our position is certainly true, that *Monarchy is the worst*, for by experience in all ages, under the Kings of the earth the truth hath had least favour, and greatest opposition, and most have suffered death for the witness of Jesus Christ; and therefore these powers of the world shall be first broken in pieces and consumed by the stone cut out of the

the mountain without hands, when the God of heaven shall set up a Kingdom which shall never be destroyed. Moreover it is remarkable, what frequent changes and alterations of Religion there are, where Kings do reign, as from Papists to Protestants, from Protestants back to papists, from them again to protestants; as it was in *Henry the eight, Edward the sixth, queen Mary, and queen Elizabeths* days: but in the other the course of Religion hath no interruption by the disease of Magistrates, though they change, yet Religion alters not.

7. Where the Government is a Free State, there men are encouraged to the study of wisdom, truth, justice, &c. because not titles there, but good parts make men capable of honor, authority, and place; neither is there a door open for them to come in by bribery and flattery, but chosen by their fitness, gifts, and abilities. In Monarchies much preferment goes by succession, the Kings *cosins* though fools or knaves by birth challenge great authority.

8. According to the proverb *new Kings new Laws*: hear what Bodin speaks (I mention him the oftner because he is a great kingsman) *We commonly* (saith he) *in the changing of Princes, new designs, new Laws, new officers, new friends, new enemies, new habits, and a new form of living: for most commonly Princes take delight to change and alter all things, that they may be spoken of, the which doth many times cause great inconveniences not only to the subjects in particular but also to the whole body of the State.* de Rep. lib. 6. c. 4. But no such prejudice or peril is incident to the other form of Government, whatsoever things are publickly altered, it is maturely don, and upon good ground; and for the general profit and welfare of the people.

9. This form of Government for which I stand, must needs be the best, being the mediocrity or *mean* between the two extreames, *Monarchy* and *Anarchy*; that one should rule alone, is against that common maxime, *plus vident oculis quam oculus*, two eyes see more then one; or that none should govern or al: tis so absurd and sencelesse as no man pleads for it, onely a malignant scandal raysed up against some honest men.

10. If men would not be blind they might cleerly behold a senceable and visible hand of God against this throning of Kings (specially taking in one after another by succession) *is Saul also among the Prophets, but who is their Father*? what greater shame and dishonor can a nation lie under, then to take the son of a known and apparent adulteresse, and make him their King? what this mans wife is, and what his own mother was, and his fathers mother, to go no higher, it is fit it should be considered of, no marvail God hath punished us by such a race, where no zeal of God nor justice of law hath beene shewed against such open whordoms from one generation to another, only talkt and laught at whereas by the Law of God open adulterers should be severely punished.

11. It is worthy of remembrance, what marks of Sovereignty some do reckon up, as being the *Rights* and *prerogatives* proper to *Monarchs*, I have not the time to name them now, onely from them this followes undeniably, that *Monarchy is Tyranny*, I will not adde *tollerable* to it; for granting unto Kings such

such *Sovereignties*, there is nothing left the people but meer slavery, and therefore people should be lesse senceable then beasts, if they would remain in bondage under Monarchy, being able to free themselves in a just and honorable way, and to set up such a form of government, whereby they might enjoy more liberty, a thing not only good in itself, but naturally desired by all men, and deemed by the wisest more pretious then gold or pearls, according to *Tityrus* in *Virgil*:

Libertas, quæ sera tamen respexit inertem,

Candidor postquam tondendi barba cadebat.

Respexit tamen, & longo post tempore venit.

But here I wonder how men giving such sovereignty to Kings, should prefer Monarchy before all other forms of government. it is as plain contradiction, grosse ignorance, and base flattery as a thing can be.

12. I desire also the Reader to take notice, that for the Reasons which are brought in favour of Monarchy, they may be thus answered. 1. Whatsoever is said for the usefulness of it, not only may be the very same be said of the other, but much more and better, as tending to the publick good and profit. 2. Touching their similitudes taken from God, the body a family, bees, cranes, &c. there is nothing can be more gathered from them, as applyed to the matter in hand, but that the Commonwealth should be carefully looked unto. 3. For the antiquity of Monarchies, I grant them to be of a long standing (though later then the other). *Josephus* makes *Cain* to be the author, but it is generally held that *Nemrod* was the first man, and by other Tyrants after him held up with great violence, rapine, and bloodshed. And whereas it hath enlarged it self far and neer, and lasted long; this I mind to be a judgment of God layd upon the nations of the earth, to scourge them for their impieties, and great wickednesse against the King of Kings.

13. Touching the things objected against the form of Government, which I plead for, they are either taken upon misunderstanding, or very frivolous, and not worth the answering: nevertheless we shall shortly speak something thereto. But for the present this shall suffice. Onely let me acquaint thee Reader, before I break off, which is, That all such as prefer Monarchy before the other kind of Government, do it with distinction, for though they hold the former in the nature of the thing to be more excellent then the later; yet in this they all agree, that as certain conditions may be, in respect of times, places, and persons, the Government here defended is more necessary and usefull. Now what reason and cause there is, for us to change Monarchy into a free State, in reference to this present time, the place, our persons, and condition, I leave the same to the two great Counsels of the Land to consider of.

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